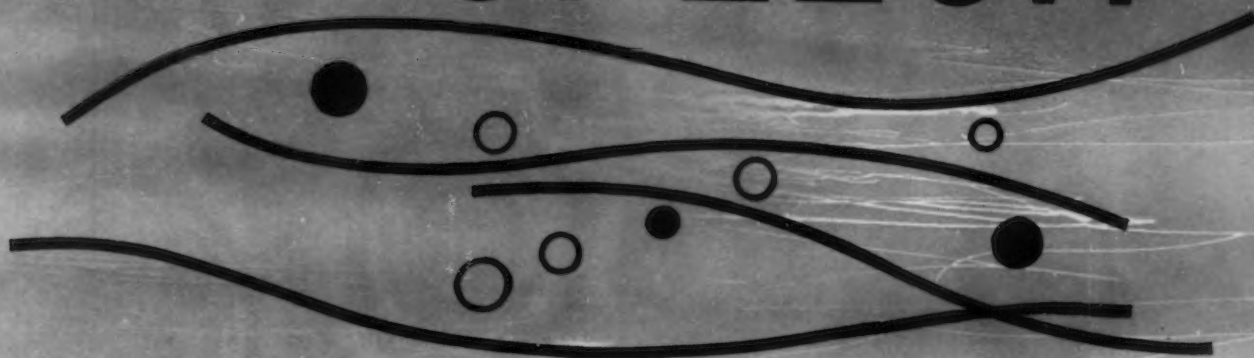


TODAY'S SPEECH



IN DEFENSE OF SPEECH

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COLUMN ONE

What do you want to read about speech?

The answer to that question is one that your Editor must have as he selects material for each issue. Each manuscript that arrives must be read with specific readers of TODAY'S SPEECH in mind.

Sometimes we think of business executives, sometimes of chairmen of meetings, now of college or high school students, and often of speech teachers. We think of members of labor unions and of service clubs, of church officials, and just plain people who are interested in speech.

Our subscription lists reveal a wide variety of occupations. Reader interests are doubtless even more varied. For that reason we welcome writers who have varied interests and varying styles of writing. We will be pleased to have manuscripts on any phase of speech and in any form. We would especially like to have interesting articles of up to 1500 words, short and pithy statements, poetry, and short-short stories. All must be about one or more phases of speech. Authors are requested to use the form suggested by the MLA style sheet.

Reader opinion is invited for our new department, *Our Readers Write*. Please take a few minutes to jot down your response to an article, to express a complaint, or to make a request. Our address is TODAY'S SPEECH, 1116 Cathedral of Learning, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.

What to Look For in February

Tom Hopkins has done much research on Attorney-General Kennedy's Civil Rights Speech which was recently delivered in Georgia, and has written an article.

Dorothy Uris will please teachers and parents with her "Teen Talk."

Anthony Hillbruner is to be back with his "Public Speaking and American Studies."

Nanci Gerstman is a first-time contributor with an informative article, titled, "Speech in Diplomacy."

For teachers James G. Backes has written, "To Get Them Talking—Try Writing."

Look, also, for more book reviews and letters from our readers.

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IN DEFENSE OF SPEECH

As we read our journals and talk with our colleagues—and sometimes each other—we are often reminded of a scene from small-town America in which several “retired gentlemen” are grouped around the courthouse steps, reliving former glories and railing in querulous tones about how unfairly they are treated by the ungrateful present. Usually, we feel sorry, perhaps condescending, and sometimes even contemptuous, for those who find refuge only in the past and see little hope for the future. And yet, is it not true that we in the speech profession sometimes assume the role of the old, the worn-out, the defeated, who must look to past glories for our *raison d’être*? Is it not also true that we are sometimes viewed by others in the academic community with amusement and pity—and perhaps a touch of contempt?

Like most analogies, ours is not perfect, but the similarities do seem worthy of our attention. It has been asserted frequently in recent years that our discipline is misunderstood and mistreated, that our ethos is low outside the walls of our own departments. Kenneth Hance, for instance, has published a carefully compiled list of “misconceptions” about speech, all of which indicate a woefully inadequate public image of our profession. In a private school in the West, the Department of Speech is ignored while the Business Administration Department provides training in speech by inviting the Dale Carnegie Institute to the campus once a year. At a Midwestern university, the School of Business Administration is currently planning to offer its own courses in “communication” rather than utilize similar courses offered by the Department of Speech. In several Eastern universities speech is not taught at all, and, of course, at one university the Chair of Rhetoric is held by a poet. Recently, the Book Review Section of the *New York Herald Tribune* published a suggested list of one hundred books for a “Communication Library,” not one of which was authored by anyone associated with the speech profession. A current survey of American seminaries indicates that most seminary administrators believe in the value of

speech training, but specify voice and diction as the proper subject matter of the speech teacher, speech content being outside his domain.

To say that this public image is inaccurate, short-sighted, or otherwise distorted is small consolation. To argue that we should be respected, acknowledged, and recognized because we once occupied a central position in the educational structure and have, after all, one of the oldest and most honored traditions, is unworthy of that tradition. If speech is misunderstood, if there is a lack of respect and understanding, *argumentum ad verecundiam* is hardly an adequate defense—especially by a profession whose specialty is rhetoric. An approach more in keeping with our tradition would be to analyze our profession objectively in order to determine the causes and to seek means for improving the situation described here.

STANDARDS FOR JUDGING

A necessary first step in such an analysis is to determine the standards by which our discipline can be judged. Clearly the main criterion for judging the value of speech, or of *any* discipline, should be the extent to which it has continued to develop, to move beyond former limitations, to extend understanding of its subject matter. Speech has been well defined as “an area of study whose twin aims are to understand the function, process, and effects of oral communication and to teach the principles and methods that make the spoken word effective.” If we accept this definition, then the questions we must ask are:

1. Have we continued to expand our understanding of the “function, process, and effects of oral communication,” and
2. Have we continued to improve our teaching of the “principles and methods that make the spoken word effective”?

Turning first to our understanding of rhetorical theory—the function, process, and effects of oral communication—we find recent contributions to be quite limited. Among such contributions we might cite a

number of historical-critical volumes such as those by Thonssen and Baird, Clark, Wallace, Howell, Brigrance and Hochmuth. The attempts of Oliver, Brembeck and Howell, and Minnick* to integrate modern and ancient approaches to persuasion might also be considered significant contributions. Possibly, we could also cite the numerous public speaking texts which, in general, have simply recapped the views of Aristotle, and the relatively small number of significant graduate studies which have broadened our understanding of the speech process. Of course, other writers might cite different contributions, or quarrel with those listed here, but it is apparent that anyone would have difficulty extending the number of significant contributions by members of the speech profession much beyond those cited above. One critic, Gerald M. Phillips, has said:

While we have done a great deal of research in rhetorical theory and criticism, our understanding of other phases of speech is relatively limited. In the basic area of public speaking we still are not too sure of the techniques of teaching speech skill . . . Many of our Ph.D. candidates take the easy way out with superficial studies of minor orators . . . Significant experimental studies are woefully few.

In short, it seems to us that only the most optimistic of men could assert that the few recent efforts of the speech profession constitute a *significant* contribution toward a fuller, more complete understanding of the "function, process, and effects of oral communication." True, we have continued to develop, to move beyond former limitations, to extend understanding and knowledge of our subject matter, but we have done so at a remarkably slow pace. If our criterion is correct, it seems perfectly understandable why some skepticism about our value has arisen among those not closely associated with our profession.

Fortunately, however, advances in the understanding of the oral communication process have continued under the guidance of persons outside our immediate area. From philosophers, mathematicians, and engineers have come some of the most recent significant contributions to speech. The philosopher, Kenneth Burke, according to Hochmuth, "has become the most profound student of rhetoric now writing in America." Everett Hunt has suggested that the most vigorous claims for the fundamental importance of communication have come from those concerned with the development of communication machines, and Francis Cartier has reported that in recent years, "we have seen many more engineers move into the speech research field than we have seen speech experts who have qualified themselves even to read the research reports, let alone do any of the work."

* All are recognized authorities in the speech field.

Certainly, the work of mathematicians and engineers such as Norbert Wiener and Colin Cherry in the areas of cybernetics and information theory has given us valuable insights into communication processes and new methodologies for testing communication postulates. Researchers in sociology and psychology, such as Osgood, Skinner, Newcomb, Maslow, Miller, Lazarsfeld, and Hovland, Janis, and Kelly, have produced theories, methodologies, and experimental evidence of importance to students of speech. Even in the area of argument and rhetorical proofs, we find that students of public address have shown comparatively little interest, "leaving to philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists the principal contributions which have more recently been made toward an improved understanding of argument."

BORROWING FROM OTHERS

As Karl Wallace has pointed out, the speech profession has wisely welcomed and freely used much of this "outside" work, fashioning these "borrowings into new compounds with which it may conduct its own research and scholarship and do its own task of teaching." No doubt this has made us better teachers and researchers. Just as frequently, however, we have resisted or neglected the work of those outside our area. It has been asserted, for example, that the technical studies of persuasion "contribute little to individual understanding"; that the individual trained in experimental procedures can be little more than "a statistical calculator of tests and measurements"; and that ". . . the development of techniques seems all out of proportion to the results—as, for instance, an elaborate series of experiments to show that obsessional neuroses make persuasion more difficult, or that persons who have established a high degree of credibility are more persuasive than those with a low degree of credibility." Still another objection is implied in the charge that a book of experimental studies "is typical of much that passes for research in the social sciences. It verifies the obvious. It complicates the simple."

This reluctance to accept the work of others can be documented again and again. We can find, for instance, little change in the speech textbook treatment of "suggestibility" in the last fifty years. Apparently, we have ignored, rejected without comment, or are unaware of the work of such psychologists as Asch, Krech, and Crutchfield, and Sherif and Cantril in the area of "suggestibility." While some of the work of field psychologists has crept into most current discussion texts, it has not been without a struggle. This pattern of reluctance probably explains why Phillips has asserted that "our textbooks are 'how to do it

manuals' as we have assiduously avoided using modern discoveries and theories in sociology and psychology."

No one would argue that the speech profession should accept uncritically the work of others. It is unfortunate, however, that many members of the profession find it necessary to reject other contributions seemingly because they resent the "intrusion." Furthermore, the ultimate implications of this reluctance have been forcefully stated by Oliver, former editor of *TODAY'S SPEECH*,

... it does not suffice to barricade ourselves off from the researches and conceptualizing of our academic compatriots by insisting, after all, "it is all in Aristotle." From Miller's *Language and Communication*, through Maslow's *Motivation and Personality*, to B. F. Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*, the evidence accumulates that speech is proving an irresistibly attractive field to many types of our fellow academicians. Unless we welcome their work and undertake the responsibility for synthesizing their findings, we shall awake to discover that we have been stranded out on the fringe of our own chosen specialty.

Brigance and many other speech professors have cited the importance of the speech profession's second goal—to improve our teaching of the "principles and methods that make the spoken word effective"—when they argue that "democracy . . . can survive only by maintaining a class of leaders who are trained in the science of persuasion and who know how to talk to the masses of people in terms of their understanding." Certainly, this is a fair assumption and a commendable goal. However, insofar as our teaching proficiency depends on our understanding of the speech process, and obviously the two are very closely related, the previous discussion suggests that the principles we teach, and perhaps our methods of teaching, are generally static and not developing as they should. To assert that modern leaders cannot be trained adequately through the use of a theory that was developed some two thousand years ago would be an inaccurate generalization. Nonetheless, a reasonable man who sees progress and change all around him may well find it difficult to believe that the current adaptations of Aristotelian rhetoric represent significant progress. It seems perfectly understandable that some skepticism has arisen as to our ability to train leaders effectively.

Unquestionably, much of the current difficulty stems from a lack of knowledge about speech by those not associated with speech. Nonetheless, it is also painfully clear that in recent years we have made very few significant advances in understanding the speech process, and we have moved very slowly in better meeting our responsibilities as teachers. To put it as bluntly as possible, there is much evidence to suggest that we have simply not done our job very well. Our critics, it seems to us, have every right to expect more of us.

SPEECH AND SCIENCE

It is our belief that the "atmosphere" within the speech profession today is not conducive to the improvement of the intolerable situation described above. Our attitude appears to be one of contentment. We are content to rely upon the work of previous scholars. We are content with our present beliefs and attitudes, and reluctant to modify them. While the rest of the academic world has been expanding its horizons, accumulating more and more knowledge, and contributing more and more to the welfare of society, we have been content—and contentment certainly does not breed progress. If we hope to become an expanding, developing, useful discipline then we must relinquish the philosophy and methodology of the nineteenth century and adapt to the philosophies and methodologies of the twentieth century.

While the term "science" is perhaps unfortunate because of the many undesirable connotations associated with it, the fact remains that it is the spirit of science which pervades modern philosophies and methodologies. Unfortunately, there are still many among us who question whether speech can be considered a science; who argue that there are too many variables involved in the speech process to allow for scientific study; and who believe that speech is an art and must be approached from an esthetic point of view. This controversy as to whether speech is a "science" or an "art" is a barren one, arising from the ambiguity of the word "science," and from a misunderstanding about what the methods of science are. The conflict might be lessened if we could agree that science implies an attitude—an attitude of discontent—as described so vividly by Brown and Ghiselli:

One of the chief characteristics of the scientist is his flexibility. His purpose is to improve his beliefs rather than to defend them. He is suspicious of his generalizations. He is forever questioning their validity and deliberately seeking further facts in order to test them. His creed calls for a continuous revision of all phases of his work as additional knowledge is accumulated, whether method or result, whether hypothesis or generalization. Of all people he is the most expert in changing his mind; that is, he is continually vigilant to bring his findings up to date in terms of trustworthy evidence.

The attitude of the nonscientific person is in sharp contrast with this. As he grows up, he forms habitual ways of responding and becomes accustomed to rely on them most of the time. He is schooled to take for granted whatever is familiar, traditional, or customary. He stabilizes his behavior in an attempt to resist change, and comes to accept a certain amount of frustration and failure as inevitable. He enters the school of hard knocks and then builds up tolerance for various forms of social and personal dislocation. A little confusion, anxiety, and worry can prove profitable experiences along the road to understanding, but he accepts them as a continuing necessity. He actually becomes adjusted to a certain amount of maladjustment. He not only tolerates

maladjustment but he accepts it as a necessary steppingstone to tranquillity. Such beliefs form a powerful barrier to modifications in behavior and are handicaps to his discovering adequate solutions to his problems.*

Clearly, the approach of the "scientist" should be the approach of those of us in the speech profession, but who among us can deny that the description of the "nonscientist" is the more accurate description of our general attitude?

4

This is not to argue that there are not scientists in the speech profession. The man to whom we credit the basis of rhetorical theory was himself a scientist, and many of those who have followed him have also been scientists, in the sense that they have been flexible, open-minded, and willing to test their assumptions and hypotheses. Nor would we argue that all members of the speech profession should be experimentalists. To the contrary, traditional rhetorical studies are of great value, and could be of even greater value if methodology were constantly evaluated and revised when necessary. Science is not committed to any specific methodology. We urge only that the speech profession should not limit itself to repeating the theories and methods of the past, but should be searching constantly for new methods and new techniques for learning more about speech.

Related disciplines, which have adopted the so-called scientific methodology and scientific attitude, have shown remarkable progress in the last half century. In the area of psychology, for instance, tremendous growth in knowledge and influence dates from its adoption of scientific methodologies, which enables psychologists to investigate traditional assumptions and discover new concepts. To be sure, early efforts were not always profound and often did "prove the obvious"; but as results accumulated, knowledge of human behavior expanded rapidly. Today psychology has developed far beyond the speculative stage of the nineteenth century and other disciplines have shown similar, if less spectacular, progress. In short, we suggest that the speech profession encourage a scientific attitude and adopt the scientific methodologies, thereby creating within the speech profession an atmosphere conducive to progress and improvement.

Furthermore, in addition to adopting the scientific attitude and scientific methodologies, we must also accept the fact that the study of speech is primarily the study of an aspect of human behavior and that our goal as researchers and teachers should be to improve our ability to predict and control human communicative behavior. Of course, accepting this concept of speech

requires the further acceptance of the two basic assumptions underlying all methodologies of the social sciences: (1) individual or group behavior is not a matter of sheer chance, but corresponds to certain conditions and varies in an orderly manner, and (2) these conditions and relationships may be discovered if observations are properly made and conclusions properly drawn.

These assumptions are not new or revolutionary. We have long accepted them implicitly when we have advised our students to use gestures, or to arrange their materials in certain ways, and so forth. They in no way deny the fact that human behavior, above the pure reflex level, is seldom so simple that an invariable response to a given stimulus can be predicted. Of course, different individuals, or even the same individuals on different occasions, do not necessarily respond in the same way to the same conditions. But, if we deny order, however complex, in human behavior (including oral communication), then we must also deny the validity of our own teachings. In short, we already postulate some of the conditions and relationships involved in effective speaking; we have taught them for years. But only if we confidently search for additional relationships and re-evaluate current assumptions can we expect to progress as a discipline. The tasks of the speech expert thus become: (1) devising dependable means of observing the responses to speech stimulation; (2) devising equally dependable means for knowing what the speech stimulation involves; and (3) utilizing these methods for testing postulates and hypotheses about oral communication.

THE SPEECH TEACHER'S CHOICE

Some readers may question the accuracy of the title of this article, believing that we have attacked rather than defended speech, but we believe that we have offered the best possible defense. We have suggested that the speech profession can move in one of two directions. As a profession, we can accept a role as teachers of a skill with a limited body of knowledge which is not expanding; we can continue to point to our glorious past and to our assumed importance as trainers of citizens for democracy; we can accept the fact that advances in our area are being made by other disciplines and that we have lost the respect of our colleagues and our place near the center of the academic world. In short, we can continue as we are, dangerously susceptible to Plato's charge of "cookery," and gradually be pushed into a position on the fringe of academic respectability. Or, we can defend our

Continued on page 27

* C. W. Brown and E. E. Ghiselli, *Scientific Method in Psychology* (New York, 1955), 12, 13.

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SLAVERY SENTIMENTS THAT LED TO WAR*

Almost every American school child is familiar with the story of the *Mayflower* landing on the stern and rockbound coast of New England in November, 1620. The *Mayflower* and its passengers have been glorified in prose, poetry and song; they are symbols of courage and fortitude in our history. What the American school child is seldom told is that another ship, much less favorably regarded, and not the subject of poetry and song, had landed on the East coast the previous year. The name of that ship is not even known. The vessel was Dutch, and in August, 1619, it landed twenty Negroes to be used as laborers by the planters of Jamestown, Virginia. It provided the beginning of the dark pattern which runs through the mosaic of American history.

The problems which were spawned by the ill-fated cargo of that Dutch ship were to eventuate in years of controversy, acrimony, turmoil, and bloodshed.

This centennial year of the war which was caused at least in part by the slavery question and the continuing problems of integration prompt a looking back at the public attitudes held by Northern and Southern leaders on slavery prior to the "irrepressible conflict."

NORTHERN ATTITUDES

The anti-slavery sentiments which were held in the North may be categorized according to the three groups by which these sentiments were promoted:

1. The philosophic group led by men like William E. Channing and Francis Wayland.
2. The free-soil group led by Preston King, Joshua Giddings, Amos Tuck, Horace Mann, and David Wilmot.
3. The abolitionist group led by William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, George Bourne, Wendell Phillips, and Stephen Foster.

The philosophic group attacked slavery as an evil in itself. The starting point in this theory was the idea that every man is a rational and moral being who must

be regarded as a person and not as a thing merely. From this basic contention the philosophic group tried to show that slavery violated the rights necessary to moral beings and was therefore evil.

Channing in his essay on slavery makes quite clear that the philosophic school looked upon Southern slavery in the same way that they might have looked upon the enslavement of one white man by another. They viewed slavery as a cause for alarm wherever it existed, even declaring that the problem was not one for the South alone but one which the North should help solve.

Slavery, said Channing and Wayland, denied the belief that *man* regardless of color is a person who cannot ethically nor politically be deprived of the prerogatives of personality. It further denied that all men are endowed with a rational nature as distinguished from the animals. Instead, it made of man a piece of property and took from him the attributes common to humanity. The violation of these fundamental rights made it an evil.

The free-soil group did not deal in such abstract theories about slavery as did the philosophic school. They never offered aid to the South in meeting slavery as a problem to the nation as a whole. On the contrary, the free-soilers were quite specific and personal in their attacks and appealed largely to the attitudes of Northern sectionalism. However, they were not so radical as the abolitionists and did not contend that slavery should be stamped out where it existed. The central contention of this group was that slavery should be contained, and not allowed to spread to the new states and territories of the country.

Resolutions 5, 6, and 7 of the Free-Soil Platform of 1848 states the official stand of that group:

Resolved that . . . Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution or derived by just implication from them.

Resolved, that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the

* Reprinted from the Penn State Alumni News, July 1961.

Government possess Constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved that the true, and the only safe measures of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its extension in all such territory as an Act of Congress.

It is important to note two matters regarding the attitude maintained by the free-soilers. First, they held that if the Constitution had no right to abolish slavery (a view frequently presented by the South), then that instrument had no right to support it. Second, they respected the right of the Southern states to regulate slavery where it existed. The sectional immunity which the free-soilers admitted to be a legitimate right of the Southern states was by no means to be extended by law to new territories. It was with the extension of national territory that the free-soil determination, demanding that slavery remain where it was, came into being.

An additional argument voiced by the free-soilers was the economic contention that slavery simply did not pay. David Wilmot proclaimed that slavery was a drain on the land wherever it existed. This argument was supported by the census of 1850 which showed that the South was falling behind the North in value of land, value of buildings, miles of railroads, schools, population, and evidences of intellectual growth. The conclusion drawn by the free-soilers was that this contrast was due to the fact that the North had free labor and the South had slave labor.

The abolitionists were the most radical of the three anti-slavery groups. If a particular date and place could be set for the beginning of extreme abolitionism, that date would be January 1, 1831, the day which marked the appearance of William Lloyd Garrison's anti-slavery paper, the *Liberator*. The place was Boston.

The attitude of the abolitionists was that slavery was a wrong which should be stopped immediately and that all the slaves should forthwith be freed. The abolitionists were fanatical in applying the label of "sin" to slavery and in demanding immediate emancipation despite any impracticability of such a move. The extremity of the view was sounded by Garrison the very first issue of the *Liberator*.

Urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present; I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; and I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch, and I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

The "Declaration of Sentiments" of the American Anti-slavery Society offers the five purposes of the abolitionists:

1. To organize anti-slavery societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in the land.

2. To send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, and rebuke.
3. To circulate anti-slavery literature.
4. To enlist the pulpit and the press.
5. To purify the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery and to bring the nation to repentance.

These five purposes were carried out with zeal by the abolitionists. The Declaration of Sentiments was like a declaration of war and was so accepted by the South. The Southern people looked upon the abolitionists as reckless and unreasoning fanatics. No attitude did more to stir up and polarize intense antagonism in the South than did the attitude of the abolitionists.

SOUTHERN ATTITUDES

The violence of the abolitionist attack was such a shock to the South that her citizens were spurred to a defense of their institutions and way of life. If an apologetic attitude regarding slavery, or a tendency to admit that slavery was undesirable, existed in the South prior to 1831, such attitudes were dispelled by the flood of Northern propaganda and accusations which came primarily from the abolitionists. Politicians, clergy, educators, and literary men of the South joined in formulating the doctrines which justified slavery and which dominated Southern thought for at least the following three decades.

The argument from the Scriptures was a prominent form of justification heard in the South. This was a defense against the argument that slavery was a sin.

Albert Taylor Bledsoe, a professor of Mathematics at the University of Virginia, in a series of essays, *Liberty and Slavery*, published in 1856, argued:

The ground is taken by Dr. Wayland and other abolitionists that slavery is always and everywhere, *semper et ubique*, morally wrong and should, therefore, be instantly and universally swept away. We point to slavery among the Hebrews, and say, There is an instance in which it was not wrong because it received the sanction of the Almighty. For the truth of this assertion, we rely upon the express authority of God himself. We affirm that since slavery has been ordained by him, it cannot be always and everywhere wrong.

Professor Bledsoe, as well as prominent ministers such as J. C. Pastell and the Reverend Josiah Priest, found convenient support for the Scriptural argument in the Old Testament:

Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall

be your bondmen for ever. (Leviticus, Chapter XXV, verses 44, 45, 46)

The New Testament offered the South the example taken from the Epistle of St. Paul in which the slave Onesimus was told to return to his master Philemon. The conclusion drawn was that this Epistle not only sanctioned slavery but proved that the duty of slaves compelled them to remain with their masters, to obey them, and to honor them.

Professor Bledsoe claimed that the New Testament singled out such matters as idolatry, polygamy, and divorce for condemnation, but was silent on slavery. He concluded that this was intentional and that therefore slavery was innocent.

Reverend George D. Armstrong, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Norfolk, Virginia, made use of the same method of argument and added others:

1. Though numerous sins were catalogued and condemned by Christ and His Apostles, slaveholding does not appear in any catalogue of sins or disciplinable offences given us in the New Testament.
2. All the books of the New Testament were written in the slaveholding states, and were originally addressed to persons and churches in slaveholding states; One of them—the Epistle to Philemon—is addressed to a slaveholder.
3. The conditions of slaves in Judea, in our Lord's day, was no better than it now is in our Southern States, whilst in all other countries it was greatly worse.
4. Slavery and the relations which it established are frequently spoken of, and yet more often referred to by Christ and His Apostles.
5. The Bible not only sanctioned slavery but Christian slavery was God's method of gradually raising the degraded African from the debasing effects of generations of sin. The duty of the South was to fulfill the improvement.

The justification of slavery on economic grounds was a second argument presented by the South.

The leading thought of those who argued from economic grounds rested upon the need to grow cotton, and upon the consequent need of the Negro slave to produce that cotton. This argument was the subject of a work by David Christy, entitled *Cotton Is King*. The complete title of this work is interesting enough to present: *Cotton Is King, or the Culture of Cotton, and Its Relations to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce; to the Free Colored People; And to Those Who Hold That Slavery Is in Itself Sinful*. The first edition was published anonymously "by an American," but later editions bear the name of David Christy. In 1860 it was incorporated as an important contribution to a larger work of essays by Southern writers known as *Cotton Is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments*, edited by Professor E. N. Elliott of Planters College, Mississippi. Christy reasoned with pro-slave sentiment that the cultivation of cotton is dependent upon the system

of Negro slavery; the world is dependent upon cotton; therefore, the world is dependent upon Negro slavery.

Most of the writings in justification of slavery include this economic defense and the pattern invariably begins by establishing the importance of cotton in the economy and the peculiar adaptation of Negro labor to the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of it. The reasoning proceeds in this manner: large scale production of cotton is more profitable than small scale; such production is impossible without the Negro largely because of his adaptation to subtropical labor; hence slavery is indispensable to the whole economic structure of the South, if not of the nation. The fact that by 1840 cotton was the leading export of the United States lent cogency to this argument.

The ethnological or social argument was a third contention in justification of slavery. This argument was based upon the stand that the Negro race was an inferior one and belonged in slavery.

Those who promoted this argument stated that slavery in the South was not designed to crush the free, the moral, the enlightened man but for the ignorant and the debased. Slavery, they maintained, was not the cause of debasement, but the result of it—not the mother of ignorance but the daughter of it.

A reply to the economic argument which claimed that slavery simply did not pay and was a blight upon the land comprised a fourth contention in the South. Southern leaders drew upon examples (*i.e.*, Jamaica) wherein emancipation did not result in any economic improvement. On the contrary, the freed slaves, it was maintained, continued to live at the expense of the planter.

An extension of this point frequently heard was that the Southern slave was far better off than the Northern factory laborer who was really "owned" by his employer and who was cruelly victimized by the cupidity of industrial managers.

When that Dutch ship slipped into the James River in August, 1619, little did her master know what he was starting. The colonial planters toiling for a living in a new land no doubt needed the Negro labor. Little did they realize that the social and economic system they set in motion ignored the rights and dignity of man and would foment problems which a great nation would be wrestling with three hundred and forty-two years later.

Nature abhors a vacuum; Americans abhor a silence, apparently. Today, radios can be found in 96% of all electrified homes, while TV sets can be found in 90% and record players in 64%.

—ANON.

SCARED!

8 You stand and face the audience. Some of them seem to leer, some frown, some glare; all disapprove, you mistakenly believe. Your voice is almost a whisper, and sometimes it cracks or croaks. Your knees and hands shake. Perspiration stands on your forehead and your clothes stick to your body. You want desperately for those people to stop glaring at you. You can't meet their eyes, so you stare over their heads or out the window or down at your trembling hands—which you quickly conceal. After a few moments, you stop, swallow, then dash to your seat. Fear has destroyed your speech.

Fear is the most persistent problem of beginning speakers. It causes the speaker to lose control over his voice, body, and mind. His personality seems to disintegrate. He cannot concentrate his energy in one direction. We can say, then, that speech fright is disorganization and disintegration.

Nearly all beginning speakers are frightened, although not all experience severe fright. Less severe symptoms include dread before speaking (notice the sour faces some speakers make), forgetting, rapid rate, dry throat, chills, upset stomach, and difficulty in breathing. Some break the flow of words so frequently that they seem to be stutterers.

MEASURING FEAR

Fear can be measured in three ways: by the speaker's personal rating, by judges' observations of the symptoms, or (rarely) by measuring fluctuations in pulse rate and blood pressure. Happily for beginners, listeners—even experienced teachers of public address—usually underrate the amount of speech fright which a speaker feels. It is possible to appear confident without killing all the stomach butterflies, simply by eliminating the symptoms of speech fright. Unhappily for beginners, however, listeners tend to judge a speaker on how confident he seems.

Would that the causes of speech fright were as easy to trace as its destructive results. Although nearly everyone experiences it, some are disabled while others

are unharmed. Every generalization about causes has so many exceptions that I hesitate to generalize. It is true that several experiments (and the subjective observations of this speech teacher) indicate that women tend to experience more speech fright than men. It is also true that the severely frightened (with many exceptions) seem to be shy, seclusive, socially passive, and frequently depressed by feelings of guilt and unworthiness; many tend to withdraw from society. Speech fright is related to sex and personality.

But its most certain cause is lack of experience in public speaking. Nearly all of the severely frightened have had little experience in public speaking. During a course in public speaking, nearly everyone gains sharply in confidence. Dr. Wade Knisely, in interviews he conducted at the University of Southern California, found that few prominent speakers experienced other than mild nervous reactions. Speech fright usually disappears within a few months if one undertakes a regular speaking schedule.

BUILDING CONFIDENCE

Confidence comes from speaking. You will be amazed at your progress with each speech. By your second or third, you will probably notice and respond to individual reactions. By your fourth, if you avoid memorizing and reading speeches, you should enjoy the feeling of controlling yourself and your audience. Your fifth speech could be delivered to a strange audience with no decrease in your confidence. By then, you will probably realize that the successful speaker doesn't fall apart, because he does one thing at a time, has one idea he is trying to communicate, and tries to make one major impression on his audience.

If speech fright is disintegration and disorganization, speech confidence is self-control and organization. The "cures" for speech fright—the four that work—all aim at self-control and organization of ideas.

One cure emphasizes bodily and vocal control. Avoid all unmotivated bodily actions—every twitch—

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THE GREAT DEBATES IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

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In 1960 the Democratic Party organization in Limestone, Maine, set up headquarters on the second floor of a vacant, storefront building in the center of town. A few days later the local Republican organization moved in downstairs, and an intramural propaganda war ensued. From their second-floor windows the Democrats suspended a gaudy banner urging: "Vote Democratic—Be on Top." Downstairs, the Republicans countered with an equally impressive banner strung across the storefront windows: "Vote Republican—Keep Your Feet on Solid Ground."

The inventiveness of Limestone politicians confirms the adage that there are at least two sides to every argument. It suggests also that the exchanging of perspectives is sometimes very useful.

Isn't it time that we view debates between candidates for the presidency in a new perspective? President Kennedy has indicated that he will accept an invitation to debate in 1964 if he is a candidate for re-election, so there is good reason to expect that we shall have another opportunity to experiment with campaigning by confrontation. But if the bitterly adverse reaction to the 1960 debates is any indication we may be in the process of creating an impossible situation for both the candidates and the large majority of voters.

Because they misconstrue the kind of information such debates can provide to voters, political commentators are promoting schemes which would embarrass the candidates and the nation, and fail to win the attention of voters. Now, while it is still easy to compare Candidate Kennedy with President Kennedy and while there is time to plan leisurely for 1964—now is the time to consider why most of the proposals for revising presidential debates are dangerous and misguided.

NEITHER "GREAT" NOR "DEBATES"

Most discussions of the "Great Debates" have centered on pungent elaboration of the theme that they

were neither "great" nor "debates." The charge advanced most often is that the debates were superficial, that they substituted personality for serious examination of issues, that the format forced candidates to shift rapidly from one question to another without providing them an opportunity to state fully their position.

Max Ascoli has suggested in *The Reporter* that "... each candidate has used and repeated arguments designed to avoid the risk of overestimating the people's intelligence." Ascoli likened Kennedy and Nixon to "two talking Univac machines, each conditioned to recite a pre-taped message in answer to a foreseeable challenge from the other."

Similarly, Professor Harold F. Harding of Ohio State expressed keen disappointment with the debates. "The TV shows which seemed to promise so much flopped as debates. The gross, overweening ambitions of both candidates ultimately made them pitiful rather than plausible performers. In short, both Nixon and Kennedy seriously underestimated the needs of the American voters. They threw mud, talked down, and confused when they could have tried to illuminate and inspire."

What is needed, say the critics, is detailed discussion of narrowly defined subject areas. The Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 are the most often, albeit rather vaguely cited exemplars of this ideal.

Edward W. Barrett, dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia, pointed out in *Television* the one characteristic which many commentators seem to believe distinguished the debates of 1960 from those of 1858 and at the same time rendered them inferior. Lincoln and Douglas discussed one question at length, Dean Barrett wrote, whereas Kennedy and Nixon touched briefly on many questions. The amusing but highly improbable culmination of this line of thinking was provided by Robert Bendiner who speculated that, within the restrictive format of the television debates, "Lincoln and Douglas might have had hardly more to say about slavery and union than that they were against the one and in favour of the other."

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES NOT COMPARABLE

This criticism is blindly impractical. In preference to the hard realities of candidate status and issue complexity, criticism of the 1960 debates envisions a Utopian Republic which never has existed and never will. Realities should not be ignored. They explain why both Kennedy and Nixon rejected proposals for close examination of specific questions even before the 1960 campaign began, why similar proposals are almost certain to be rejected in the future, and consequently why critics might better spend their time developing proposals which have some chance of acceptance.

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Critics conveniently overlook the fact that Lincoln and Douglas were candidates for the Senate, not the White House. Any candidate may imperil his personal political future by spelling out his views in too much detail. But a presidential candidate can embarrass or endanger the entire nation by speaking too candidly in public.

Critics demand debate in depth. Do they really want a future president to engage in public discussion of U.S. intervention in Guatemala? Or arguments that our allies are not paying their share to defend the free world? Or of precisely which beach or mountain marks the point at which we will resist aggression with bullets? This sort of *Friday*-morning quarterbacking would provide vicarious pleasure, perhaps, but no really useful information that could not be obtained in other, less risky ways.

DEBATING SELF-DEFEATING?

There is yet another serious objection to detailed discussion of national and international problems by presidential candidates: it would be largely self-defeating. In theory the purpose of the debates is to enable the voter to achieve a clearer understanding of the candidates' positions on crucial issues and, thereby, to furnish him with a sound basis for choosing between them. In practice, the vast majority of voters is resolutely unwilling to operate in this fashion. They lack the command of facts which they must have to understand and evaluate the full statement of a candidate's position on a complicated question—and all important questions today are complicated.

The candidate has three choices with such auditors. He can try to educate them. A commendable undertaking for the long run but a ridiculous task in a campaign because many will not listen, and there is insufficient time to inform those who will. He can ignore their ignorance, which is political suicide, as

Adlai Stevenson demonstrated in 1952, because no one will attend to a discussion he cannot understand. And finally, the candidate can simplify and generalize, which is what almost always happens.

It is what happened in 1858, for example, despite what we read in current publications about Lincoln and Douglas probing the issues in depth. By projecting the Lincoln of Gettysburg and Washington and Cooper Union backward to Galesburg and Jonesboro and Ottawa, the critics have conjured up an idealized debate which does not accord with the facts.

They overlook crudities like Douglas' contention that Lincoln wanted to marry a Negro and Lincoln's wry observation that Douglas' wife had "found it necessary to follow [him] around from place to place to keep [him] from getting drunk." They overlook a degree of repetition which makes even the last 120 minutes of the Nixon-Kennedy exchanges seem fresh and inspiring by contrast. And chiefly, they overlook the fact that Lincoln and Douglas simplified and popularized to secure the attention and understanding of Illinois voters.

Just as the critics ignore historical facts, so do they turn their backs on contemporary reality. They seem to prefer the first or second alternative, educating the voter or disregarding his lack of essential information. They will not acknowledge, perhaps they do not realize, that their proposals involve political suicide, but the chief effect of raising the level of the debate would be to drive most of the audience out of the hall.

Professor Harding contends that the candidates underestimated the needs of voters, and Mr. Ascoli says they underestimated the people's intelligence. But an individual's needs are an effective motivating force only to the extent that the individual perceives them. The discouraging mass of familiar evidence under the rubric, "the people's blissful indifference to national problems," testifies to the narrow range of needs which most voters perceive. If the situation were otherwise, the quality of American newspapers and television programs, to take only the two most notorious examples, would improve miraculously. Professor Harding is talking about needs which he thinks the voters *should* feel. We can agree with this sentiment while disagreeing that the candidates underestimated the needs which voters actually *do* feel.

Ascoli is wide of the mark also. It is not the people's intelligence which determines what a candidate can say so much as the people's knowledge. The same issue of *The Reporter* which published Ascoli's lament also recorded Douglass Cater's trying experience as a member of the panel of questioners for the third debate. "Not even a trained political observer," thought Cater,

"could keep up with the crossfire of fact and counterfact, of the rapid references to Rockefeller Reports, Lehman amendments, prestige analyses, G.N.P., and a potpourri of other so-called facts."

Why should Cater label the Rockefeller Reports, "so-called facts"? Granted that the debaters used these references more to impress than to inform. Nevertheless they are facts, important facts, and exactly the type of facts a voter would have to understand before he could comprehend a detailed discussion of the candidates' positions. If the third debate had proceeded at a more leisurely pace, if the annual growth rate of the economy, say, had been discussed for the entire hour, then references to the Gross National Product or to the Rockefeller Reports probably would not have troubled Cater or other trained political observers. But they certainly would have puzzled and bored a vast number of voters who simply are not interested in distinguishing between G.N.P. and P.D.Q.

SHIFTING POLITICAL SANDS

If criticism of the Nixon-Kennedy debates were merely impractical, it would scarcely be worth our attention. But the problem is more serious than that. The criticism stems from the premise that an "informed" voter is one who understands the candidates' positions on the issues and casts his ballot accordingly. From this premise follows inevitably the conclusion that the better the voter understands the candidates' positions, the more wisely will he vote. Obviously, then, the ideal debate between presidential candidates would provide the greatest possible amount of information about the candidates' positions.

The difficulty with this reasoning is that the premise which underlies it is at best a half truth, a half truth which obscures the real merit of the 1960 debates and misleads those who are searching for ways to stage more effective debates in 1964. The premise is only half true because it treats only the candidates' *proposals*; the candidates themselves are ignored.

We vote for a man as well as for a program, and there are other and better ways to estimate a man's worth than by minute analyses of what are necessarily theoretical positions on theoretical issues. Neither we nor the candidate really knows what the issues will be when and if he is elected and has the power to act.

Problems don't hold still. Between October's pronouncements and messages to Congress in February or March, business may lag or spurt, a Castro may be overthrown or develop a taste for vodka, the price of gold in London may rise or tumble, a crisis may erupt in Laos instead of Formosa.

Solutions, moreover, are not arrived at unilaterally

but through maneuver and compromise. What a prospective chief executive plans to do may turn out to be less significant than what Khrushchev or the Southern Democrats force or permit him to do.

Given this perpetual shifting of political sands, it would be foolish to place too much reliance on what a candidate says he will do if elected. In practice, we seldom judge men in that fashion. We lean far more heavily on actions than on opinions when sizing up a prospective president, or employee, or dentist. From past and present acts we infer which values and motives are important to an individual, and what his reaction to future contingencies is likely to be. Mr. Kennedy's brusque retort, "I don't need Mr. Nixon to inform me what my patriotic duty is," gives us the same kind of revealing insight that we gain from Lincoln's tongue-in-cheek characterization of Mrs. Douglas as a temperance watchdog. Information about the quality of mind of presidential candidates is at least as important, perhaps it is more important, than information about their positions on domestic and international issues.

ADVANTAGES OF DEBATES

The debate situation has special advantages for providing voters with information about the quality of the candidates' minds. For one thing, it attracts and holds attention to political matters more effectively than any other method. Columbia Broadcasting System statisticians estimate that 101 million different Americans watched some part of the debates. The average audience for the four debates was about 71 million. This figure is a remarkably high percentage of the potential audience. Nine families out of ten owning television sets saw the candidate of both parties in action at least once.

By way of contrast, when Truman pre-empted all radio networks during an evening hour to discuss his removal of price controls on meat, only half of the potential audience bothered to tune in. Vary the speaker, the subject, or the circumstances, and there is no combination that has equalled the drawing power of the Nixon-Kennedy meetings.

The debates were not mere spectacle, moreover. They did enable voters to watch both candidates making real responses to real challenges, and on this basis to draw valuable inferences regarding the kind of men the candidates were and the kind of president they would make. The debates did not provide all the evidence for these inferences which we would have liked, but as a source of information they were vastly superior to oratory calculated only to whip up enthusiasm at

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POETRY READING AND THE AMERICAN IDEA

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Several years ago an invitation came asking me to adjudicate at the Pennsylvania Forensic and Music League's final contests of poetry reading and the reading of scenes from the comedies of Shakespeare. This state-wide high school program awed me. But, I accepted, and with sincere humility I proceeded to consider the role I had been charged to play.

Surely I must prepare for this occasion, I thought. As a musician loves music, I have always loved verse. As a musician is master of his art by constant vigilance and practice, so must I practice, read aloud to capture the different qualities and rhythms of verse; I must know the poets from whose writings selections would be made and know well A. E. Housman and his "When I Was One and Twenty," the test poem for the event.

In *The Oxford Recitations* I read John Masefield's preface on how the Oxford University Verse-Speaking contests started. Mr. Masefield and his wife heard some of the pupils of Miss Marjorie Gullen from the verse-speaking classes in the Edinburgh Musical Festival in 1922, and they longed to hear similar speech in Oxford. Mr. Masefield explained,

When we began to hold these contests, we knew, of course, that the public speaking of verse was at a very low level. It has become so, because for many years the public has not wished to hear verse spoken. When it wanted poetry, it has preferred to read it from the books of poets who have written their works for readers, not for hearers. Those who have spoken poetry of late years have often been more concerned with action than with speech, and have followed actors rather than poets in such training as they have taken. Speech, generally, is neglected; rhetoric is little practiced; and perhaps few people in this country reckon the listening to poetry as a main pleasure in life.

Perhaps the chief result of these contests has been this: that some hundreds of people have discovered how intense a pleasure listening to poetry can be. All the judges are either poets or writers much interested in poetry. That they should enjoy contests, and look forward intensely to them, throughout the year, comes of course. But some hundreds of others who have attended the contests, follow them now as keenly as the judges. An audience has been made; people have begun to learn how to listen.*

* *The Oxford Recitations* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 6.

LISTENER AND JUDGE

I realized that my first duty to these young speakers of verse was to listen; listen as keenly as does the musician tuning his instrument for the simple lullaby or the grand concerto; as avidly as William Saroyan listens during the rehearsal of his play; as sensitively as Margaret Webster attends to the reading of Shakespeare. Having been brought up, not on Lamb's Tales but on the bard's verse, Margaret Webster is as aware of the rhythms of Shakespeare as the rest of us are of the rhymes of Mother Goose. At an early age she was tuned to the dramatist's speech and as a child in the theatre developed the fine art of listening. I must listen as keenly as I recall George Bernard Shaw listening to a performance at the Malvern Festival in England.

Only then can I attempt to comply with a dictionary definition of adjudicate: "to hear or try, and determine judicially." The reader brings to his reading his experience, his understanding of life, his imagination, and his technique; the listener brings his experience, his training, rich or meager. And now it was that the charge for me, to determine judicially the best reading in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, became of serious import. A small voice encouraged me, "Try to be helpful." But a hollow voice echoed again and again, "Now we'll find out what you really know. Adjudicate! The judgment is on you!"

AMERICA AND THE CREATIVE SPIRIT

What did I discover during those reading hours? That the reading is no better than the reader, or the fused learning experience brought about creatively by the teacher and the reader; and perhaps the greatest of all truths, that within the reader there is a desiring-to-be, a reaching toward the ultimate goodness and dignity of man. Life has not been long for these young readers; they have not much from which to draw experience. Knowledge of the poet and the poet's intentions have not always nor adequately been

considered; the emotion and the rhythm are neglected; the reader fails to re-create the poet's ballad or lyric, fails creatively to move forward his reading of verse to the fullness of the poet's meaning. But within each student there is ability to create; therein lies the hope and promise of tomorrow.

As I drove back from Norristown through the soft spring countryside, past Pennsylvania grey stone houses and rolling hills gay with cherry blossoms and golden forsythia, I thought of this America that we have tried to build. I thought of the hundreds of boys and girls traveling by bus, coming from the coast where ships sail out to sea, from the New York border and the anthracite district, from western Pennsylvania, steel center of the country. English, Poles, Greeks, Hebrews, Germans, Russians, Swedes, and Negroes—boys and girls, from all ways of life, whose parents, grandparents, great-grandparents—some of them, at least, had come to America to be free, free from fear and military rule, free to worship according to their own choice, free to seek economic security, free to sing and speak the songs of a free people, what they know to be right, to be true and beautiful. Then it was that I knew that this is what America means to us . . . this is the American idea . . . this the American dream. Poets and those with the vision of poets know the dreams and discouragements of a people and the victories that are theirs, too, and with Van Wyck Brooks, "see on all sides a hunger for affirmations, for a world without confusion, waste or groping, a world that is full of order and purpose, and for ourselves, in America, a chance to build it."

In America we must build for an ordered world. In Hungary, China, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, we have seen the heart of a people tortured with fear. In *Journey for Margaret*, we saw the appalling effects of war on small children; we saw the children in a nursery during the height of the raids of 1940. We recall one of the early stories about little Margaret O'Brien, who played the title role in *Journey for Margaret*. Margaret was out driving in the country with her aunt one day, and her aunt was explaining that God made all the beautiful things they were seeing: the sky, the trees, the mountains, and the clouds. "My!" said Margaret thoughtfully, "God sure is talented." Yes, God is talented. And God created man in His image and when people cease to listen to God's Word, and have given over their divine privilege and yielded to destruction, they have perished . . . "Where there is no vision the people perish." Such is our world today: destruction versus creation.

On January 20, 1940, I heard a young voice speaking from an American broadcasting studio: "I am an

English boy, fourteen years old. When we left England to come to America, we were told that we could bring little with us except words. And just before we sailed, we were given a small book, a book of words. These are some of the words that we learned:

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they . . . have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion . . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

These words of Abraham Lincoln again challenge all people. Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking to the people of the world when he made his tenth annual address to a joint session of Congress on the state of the Union, affirmed the spirit that is America's:

The state of the nation is good.
The heart of this nation is sound.
The spirit of this nation is strong.
The faith of this nation is eternal.

During the war years high school speech contests were suspended. But we could not suspend the American idea for the duration.

We could not suspend all creative activities for the duration. We could not and cannot suppress the voice of the poet. The young American pilot-poet of World War II, John Magee, will live long with us as we remember his last "High Flight."

The American idea, the American dream and its promise, have run through the centuries like a musical theme in the symphony of life. As we become a part of this great orchestration, the word and the creative reader are as one. Both Archibald MacLeish and Carl Sandburg have said "America is promises." On December 7, 1942, Carl Sandburg was heard on the radio drama program, *Victory Road*, and gave us the challenge, "Tomorrow belongs to the children."

THE READING OF POETRY

We hope that our students will read poetry, poetry that they understand; that they will find sympathy between the reader and the writer. Then there will be as Emerson said, ". . . not only creative writing, but creative reading." Today a boy from the mines chants the ballads of the coal miners and re-creates "Caliban in the Coal Mines" by Louis Untermeyer. The boy and girl from the farm find a sympathetic quality in the poetry of Robert Frost, and those who know the west of Lew Sarett, whether in reality or imaginative understanding, read his poetry with sympathetic and creative imagination. These students of

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CARLOS P. ROMULO, ORATOR

PART II*

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Carlos P. Romulo is a man of virtue. Quintilian said that the orator must be a good man skilled in speaking. Romulo's virtues are the qualities mankind admires in a fellow human being. He loves his home, his wife, his children, his friends, his church, his nation. His friends call him "Rommy." General MacArthur called him "Dear Carlos." Virtue always involves principle. Great orators have never deserted their principles. Edmund Burke argued for conciliation with the American colonies when such a course was unpopular. Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas met in the historic debates over the extension of slavery in 1858. Douglas declared he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down. Lincoln said he did care.

Romulo cast personal considerations aside in the election of 1953 and battled for what he thought was best for the Philippines. President Quirino had appointed Romulo to two of the plush jobs of the Philippine republic, that of Ambassador to the United States, and Permanent Delegate to the United Nations. And in the election when President Quirino sensed that the electorate was turning against his administration because of the abuses of his party, he decided to call Romulo home to campaign for the party's reelection. Romulo's integrity would be an asset.

On his return Romulo found that corruption was ruining not only the Liberal party but his beloved Philippines as well. Romulo decided to break with his party and President Quirino and support Magsaysay. John Kennedy might well have included Romulo in his book, *Men of Courage*. Romulo wrote, "What I faced might put an end to much of the happiness and comfort in our lives, and put an end also to the power for good that had been given me."

Romulo shows he is a man of principle in his fearlessness in criticizing the foreign policy of the United States. In his address, "Two Significant Conferences,"

delivered at the opening of Columbia University Summer Session on July 6, 1954, he declared, "The United States is hamstrung by the need of consulting its Western allies. In effect, it has no Asian policy of its own at the moment except such as its principal allies in NATO are willing to support."

Yet, he rushed to the defense of the United States when Vyshinsky accused America of imperialism in China. "I say, sir, that you can make this false accusation against so-called American imperialism in Russian, but you cannot say it in Chinese. You cannot say it in Chinese unless you are speaking in translation from Russian. You cannot say it in Chinese because no Chinese who knows the history of his country and who is aware of the long historic friendship between the Chinese people and the American people can make this accusation without sounding as if he were faithfully parroting the stale phrases of Russian propaganda."

MAN OF GOOD WILL

Romulo is a man of good will. When he broke with President Quirino, it created an unpleasant situation because he and the President were on the best of personal terms. In the heart of the campaign, Quirino had said some derogatory things about Romulo, but Romulo rose above the moment, and, instead of mailing in his resignation, which would have been the easier way, he went with a son on each arm, to Malacan Palace to see the President in person and to hand him his resignation. The President, after reading the resignation, said, "Rommy, this is the most severe indictment of my administration."

His good will shows in the width of his sympathies. His liberal arts background gave him the appreciation of the total world in which he lives. He was willing and able to give a speech to the Academy of American Poets. He also gave addresses to audiences on the arts, the opera, on music. Romulo has been called

* Part I appeared in TODAY'S SPEECH for September 1961.

upon to speak on advertising, on freedom of the press, on scholarship, on foreign trade, on colonialism, on nuclear explosions, on semantics, on Woodrow Wilson, on Wendell Willkie. He is a philosopher as well as a skilled public speaker.

Romulo is at home with the great figures of the world. On the occasion of Nehru's visit to the United Nations on October 9, 1949, he said, "On behalf of the General Assembly I welcome His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru to our midst. And on my own personal behalf I welcome him also as a fellow Asian and as a friend of long standing, one of the greatest leaders of mankind in our generation." Much of his success in the war, in his deliberations around the council tables, in his lectures across the United States, in his service as Resident Commissioner of the Philippines, in his Presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in his Ambassadorship is due to his close personal contact and friendship with the leading men and women of our time.

Good will is won when he pokes gentle fun at himself. He has two or three stories on himself that send audiences into gales of laughter which he tells in the opening moments of his popular lectures. He knows the truth of Channing Pollock's remark, "The most helpful trick I ever learned is that of beginning every lecture with two or three minutes of laughing at myself." But his humor can be vitriolic. In his debates with Vyshinsky he was not averse to sarcasm. One time he said, "I yield to Mr. Vyshinsky's better knowledge of police states, and he can correct me if I am wrong." At another time he turned the tables on him, and said, "Mr. Vyshinsky referred at great length to the elections held in South Korea last May. He first denounced the United Nations Commission in Korea as an illegal body, biased and lacking in objectivity, and then in the same breath, proceeded to prove his case on the basis of the Commission's report."

ROMULO'S RHETORIC

In his speaking he employs logical, emotional, and personal proof. He can follow an argument to its inescapable conclusion; he can arouse an audience by touching the deepest wells of feeling; he stands before an audience as a man of integrity whose life serves to give conviction to his words. He holds a place of affection and esteem in the hearts of the Filipino and American people.

His training as a debater in high school and college taught him how to apply the rules of logic in the thick of oral argument. In one of his masterpieces of oratory, the speech at Bandung, the issues are plainly stated at the beginning. His speech outlines easily and logically.

He carries his listeners along with him step by step. His rhetoric is the rhetoric of the West. Many of his speeches would make excellent textbook examples. Undoubtedly, the years he spent teaching English exercise a firm hand on his organization and argument. Like Patrick Henry, he is a master of the rhetorical question which is indigenous to oral argument.

Romulo is a man of deep feeling, and he can use the rhetoric of the platform to awaken a response from his listeners. In speaking Romulo lives again the scene he is evoking through words. He can transport himself and the audience. He has said, "Suffering, privation, the truths of survival or death had seemed no less real to me on a lecture platform in Syracuse than when I experienced it during the fight to hold the Philippines. It had seemed to me that in speaking I had lived every word through again in reality." The audience has a catalytic effect upon Romulo. The platform is for him a place of creativity. His descriptions as a speaker are more packed with emotional power than those of his pen. Consider the following examples. Both descriptions are of the same scene, yet the words spoken from the platform are more powerful in their effect on the emotions than the written words:

This passage is from *I See the Philippines Rise*. He describes the destruction of the home of his friend Senator Elpidio Quirino:

I stopped my car beside the pitted shambles that had been the handsome garden of my friend Senator Quirino. The bodies of his family were lying about, unburied, in queer positions. Japanese had surrounded the house with machine guns and mowed down the family as they tried to escape.

Here is the same scene described in a speech before Congress on April 17, 1945. Note the heightened vividness of the picture. Note the appeal to the sense of smell, the sense of sound, the clearer pictures. Note the use of such words and phrases as, *jeep for car, vile smelling ruins, grotesque postures for queer positions, grinning Japs, machine-gunned, screams*:

Driving by jeep through the vile smelling ruins of Manila, I stopped by the shambles that had been the garden of my friend Senator Elpidio Quirino. His family lay there in grotesque postures, still unburied. His little daughter was shot as she ran to help her mother who was machine-gunned, and the other members of her family who tried to answer her screams were mowed down by grinning Japs.

Audiences sat in stunned silence as they heard him speak. Students carried him on their shoulders to his hotel. Students were led to enlist. Audiences gave him standing ovations as he concluded his speeches. Such passages as the following, and there are many in his speeches, are deeply moving.

And when your flag was insulted as it never was

insulted in its history, when Japanese hands tore that flag and flung it in the dust, and Japanese boots trampled upon it, they were brown Filipino hands that picked up Old Glory, and they were brown Filipino breasts that were bared against the Japanese bayonets in defense of your flag and the American way of life, in defense of American democracy, of freedom because you followed the Golden Rule in your dealings with us, and because, above all, you respected the dignity of the human soul.

Great orators have been known for the power of their imagination. The imaginative touch infuses everything they say. Note the poetic quality of the following passage which moved Congress with its power and brought the assembly to its feet cheering. Is this passage not reminiscent of the great orator, Robert Green Ingersoll?

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America in the eyes of the world is represented by the eagle. It is a fitting symbol of this great nation, that regal bird that teaches its eaglets to fly by pushing them over the edge of the nest so that while falling they learn to lift their fragile wings. But as they fall, she does not desert her young. She follows them. With unleashed wings she circles around them. Her gallant wings protect them in their desperate flight. Other animals, such as the snake, may desert their young, but not the noble eagle. May I say, Mr. Speaker, that we in the Philippines, we who are the bruised and battered fledgling of the Far East in this war, cannot believe that our mother eagle will abandon us in our stumbling attempt to soar alone.

HIS INNERMOST MOTIVES

Romulo has not forgotten in his rhetoric of the platform the power of the peroration. The summary, or recapitulation, or conclusion is not the same as the peroration. The matter-of-fact, businesslike speaking of today has little place for the peroration. It is as if the speaker of today is afraid of emotion. But Romulo in many of his speeches was dealing with love and hate, life and death, honor and dishonor, and had to penetrate to the heart of his audience to make his meaning clear and to move them to action. In the last few moments of a speech Romulo has the ability to use the peroration, this powerful instrument of persuasion, to lift his audience to the stars. He helps them to sense the overpowering greatness of his theme and to see the invisible.

In his address on "The Jones Act—the Foundation Stone of Bataan," given on August 29, 1944, his first speech as Resident Commissioner of the Philippines, he uses this peroration:

We know now there will be victory, and palms such as are laid on the graves of Arlington will be placed on the nameless dust of Bataan. On that bloodstained Philippine peninsula Americans and Filipinos must meet over a common grave where lie the bodies of their sons. We will remember them, after victory, how we valued them, these American and Filipino boys who died together for democracy. In our eyes they were beautiful, they were the hopes of our lives, and our hearts will break again over their shared dust.

We will meet, my American friends, over that common grave.

Out of that grave, a dream.

Others have died for that dream of world recognition of the ordinary civilities and the divine rights of man.

A Jew named Jesus carried that dream, via Golgotha, to a hill known as Calvary.

An American, Abraham Lincoln, carried that dream from a log cabin to the White House. He was assassinated, here in Washington.

The Filipino Manuel L. Quezon died for that dream, after taking his last stand for democracy in the tunnel on Corregidor.

And a boy named Juan, from Manila, and another boy named Joe, from Missouri, died for the same dream on Bataan, and their commingled dust is holy earth.

How can we sift that dust by race for separate honor! Both were young. Both loved life. But they hated autocracy more than they loved living, and they share one grave on Bataan.

Out of that grave, a dream. As Edgar Lee Masters said: "Bloom forever, O Republic, from the dust of my bosom!"

Back of Romulo's words are his life. An orator's words are no more convincing than his life. When an audience sees Romulo stand before it, they see a man dedicated to peace. Here is "the last man out of Bataan." Here is one who hates Communism and loves Democracy. Here is an admirer of Quezon and a soldier compatriot of General Douglas MacArthur. Here is a Filipino who loves his country more than he loves his life. Here is a man who is not governed by passion or prejudice, but here is a man who is filled with tenderness and compassion, one who does not easily forget a past kindness, one who recognizes his dependence upon others, one who tries to do the right thing. Here is a product of America's experiment in democracy in the Philippines. Not only does an audience sense all this in Carlos P. Romulo as he stands before it, but it finds him revealing his innermost motives by what he says and how he says it on the platform.

HIS EARNED RIGHT TO SPEAK

Romulo by what he has done has earned the right to speak on the great themes of our time: neutralism, the independence of Asia, radiation, control of nuclear armaments, the power of the United Nations, Democracy versus Communism, the Philippines as a bridge between East and West, the friendship of the Philippines for the United States, peaceful negotiation and coexistence, freedom of information, freedom for non-self-governing peoples. An audience hears the authentic note when Romulo speaks on these themes.

Romulo's personal proof was a factor in winning for Magsaysay the Presidential election of 1953. His

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FIVE BASIC STEPS OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION

One Saturday afternoon some boys were fooling around on a playground. Jack calls out, "Hey, fellows! Come here. Let's play soft ball." A group of boys crowd around. Jerry breaks in with, "Naw. Let's go to a movie," Harry says quietly, "If you want to play, you may use my ball and bat." A chorus of voices respond, the typical expression being, "O.K. Let's play." Jerry, seeing that the majority prefers to play ball, indicates that he is willing to go along like a good sport by saying, "Well, what are we waiting for? I say let Jack and Harry choose sides." The rest agree, the teams are chosen, and the boys have their game.

In spite of the informality and simplicity of this incident, the procedure resulted in prompt, effective, democratic action. Furthermore, each boy benefited from the decision and felt satisfaction from the fair (democratic) manner in which agreement was reached. An analysis of the incident shows five fundamental steps in the procedure:

1. *A meeting was called* for a group having common interests.
2. *An idea was presented* to the group for its consideration.
3. *The idea was considered* (discussed) by the group. In this case the consideration included an alternative plan (substitute) and also included a specific plan for carrying out the original idea.
4. *A majority decision was made* and accepted by all. The minority realized that it had had a fair hearing and accepted the will of the majority—even helped to perfect the idea.
5. *The majority decision was carried out*—the boys had their game.

The purpose of the first four steps was to insure the success of the fifth step. Thus we see that the ball game itself was an essential part of the democratic process, even though the captains and the umpire made decisions quickly without discussion.

The boys' playground experience illustrates Parliamentary Procedure in a simple form. However, what we usually refer to as Parliamentary Procedure is relatively more formal and more complicated. Democratic kid stuff grows up and becomes democratic action through Parliamentary Procedure. The following outline takes the above five steps and expresses them in the adult language of modern Parliamentary Procedure.

- I. *A meeting is called.* An organized group is convened.
 - A. *Each member is notified* that the meeting is to be held. The call (notice) should state clearly the exact time and place for the meeting. The notice may give the agenda (order of business; program; calendar). Usually the President authorizes the call and the Secretary sends the notices.
 - B. *The meeting is called to order* by the chairman (presiding officer)—usually the President. Shortly before the time for the meeting, the chairman goes to the place where he is to preside. The Secretary sits beside him. If there is a parliamentarian, he should be seated on the other side of the chairman. For a large assembly, the place for the chairman is likely to be a stage (platform) at the front of a large hall. For the typical committee meeting, the place for the chairman will probably be at the head of a table in a much smaller room.

At, or soon after, the time for the meeting the Chair calls the meeting to order. In a large assembly, he may stand, strike his gavel, and then say, "The meeting will come to order." In a small meeting he may remain seated and say quietly, "Let's start our meeting."

The Chair is the umpire of the meeting and should refer to himself as the Chair—not by the personal pronoun "I."

II. *An idea is presented to the group* (parliamentary body). Usually the idea is presented in the form of a motion—formal, informal, or implied. The following illustrates the orthodox procedure for making a formal motion:

A. *A member addresses the Chair.* In a large meeting, the member stands, faces the Chair, and says, "Mr. Chairman" (or uses whatever title is suitable for the particular case, *e.g.*, "Madam Chairman"; "Mr. President"; "Mr. Speaker"). This is the usual formal method of asking for the floor (requesting permission to speak to the body). In smaller groups it is often better simply to catch the eye of the chairman and obtain a nod indicating permission to speak.

B. *The Chair recognizes the member.* This means that the member is granted the privilege of speaking to the body (given the floor). The Chair usually does this by announcing the member's name. In a large convention the Chair may be in doubt and may say, "State your name and Local." The Delegate might reply, "Delegate Walter Jones, of Detroit." The Chair might complete the process by stating, "Delegate Jones has the floor." Formally announcing the name of one attempting to secure the floor helps members to get acquainted, gives all an opportunity to help prevent outsiders from obtaining the floor, aids the Secretary in taking minutes, and often helps to maintain proper decorum. Even in very small groups it is important to avoid having more than one person speaking at a time, and it is also important to prevent any member from monopolizing the time of the body.

C. *The member makes a motion.* He does this by presenting in positive terms just what his idea (proposal; proposition) is. For example, he might say, "I move that we buy a television set for our lounge." Suppose the member presents a committee report which includes a recommendation. In such a case there would be an implied motion to adopt (approve) the recommendation. When the Secretary presents a set of minutes, there is an implied motion to approve the minutes. The above are three examples of main motions.

D. *Another member seconds the motion.* This is usually done by a member calling out from his seat (without waiting for formal recognition), "I second the motion." The purpose of requiring a second is to insure that there are at least two (maker and seconder) in favor of having the body consider the motion at the time it is presented

(made). Seconds are not required in committees (including boards). A motion to approve a recommendation of a committee does not require a second. Some incidental motions do not require a second. The rule often causes a waste of time, frequently discourages the presentation of helpful motions for fear of securing no second, encourages discussion of a motion before it is made, seldom is of any value, and adds an unjustified complication to Parliamentary Law. When a second is not required, it is still in order, *e.g.*, a nomination from the floor does not require a second, but often one or more members second the nomination. To lessen the waste of time, it may be wise for the chairman to plant one or two members near the front to second motions.

E. *The Chair states (repeats) the motion* if it is in order. If the motion is out of order the Chair should so state and explain briefly the reason, *e.g.*, "The motion is out of order since it proposes support of a political candidate, and our rules provide that this Club shall be non-partisan"; "The motion is out of order since it is not relevant to the pending motion"; "The motion is out of order since a motion to refer does not take precedence over a motion to table."

The Chair states the motion by repeating the motion made by the member, but he should state it in proper parliamentary form. In most organizations it is not reasonable to expect members to be skilled parliamentarians, adroit in the proper wording of motions. Hence, the Chair, often with the help of the parliamentarian, should be careful to state the motion in lucid, terse form. If the motion as stated by the Chair is not acceptable to the maker, he should at once interrupt to obtain the wording he wishes. The Secretary should record the motion as stated by the Chair and as approved by the maker. In many cases motions should be submitted in writing, *e.g.*, most business in assemblies should be introduced by official reports which often include recommendations. A recommendation is the substantive part of the motion to approve. In many cases the reports, or at least the recommendations, should be published in advance so that all members may have copies. This insures that each voter will have a correct copy of most important main motions.

If the Chair is confident that all understand the motion as made, he may (by general consent) omit the formal stating of the motion and simply

announce, "You have heard the motion. Discussion is in order."

If a motion is debatable, after stating the motion, the Chair should say substantially as follows: "Discussion is now in order."

III. *The motion is considered by the parliamentary body.*

- A. *The motion may be discussed*, if it is debatable. If the pending motion is debatable, each member has the right to express his ideas on the merits of the motion, and it is the duty of the other members to listen. Before a member may discuss a pending motion, he must secure the floor. Usually, in assemblies and in large committee meetings, he should obtain the floor by the same formal procedure outlined above: (a) address the Chair, and (b) be recognized. In general, substantive motions (main motions and their amendments) are debatable, while procedural motions are generally undebatable. Discussion should be characterized by cooperative group thinking, by constructive efforts to find the best available solution to the problem out of which the pending motion arose.
- B. *The motion may be amended*, if it is amendable. Suppose the "television" motion were pending, a member might move to amend, by saying, "I move to amend by adding the words 'at a cost not to exceed \$300.'" If this motion to amend receives a majority vote, the motion as amended would read: "That we buy a television set for our lounge at a cost not to exceed \$300." This would be the pending main motion as amended. Usually a motion to amend is in order if the immediately pending motion is a main motion or a first degree amendment to a main motion.
- C. *Further consideration may be deferred* by adoption of one of the following three orthodox subsidiary motions: "Refer," "Postpone Definitely," "Lay on the Table," *e.g.*, a member might make one of the following motions: "I move to refer to the House Committee"; "I move to postpone to the next meeting"; "I move to table." Deferral is one of the most valuable methods for preventing hasty decisions on controversial issues. Usually it is wise to allow time for the development of a consensus. In general, the motion to "Refer" and to "Postpone Definitely" should be used rather freely. The orthodox motion to "Table" should be avoided, since, if adopted, it is likely to kill. Unfortunately, after debate has been closed (under orthodox rules) motions to

"Refer" and to "Postpone Definitely" are out of order. Under such circumstances a premature, rash vote may be prevented by adopting a motion to "Table," to "Recess," or even to "Adjourn."

- D. *Debate may be closed* by general consent or by a 2/3 vote, *e.g.*, the Chair, seeing that no one is trying to get the floor, might say, "If there is no further discussion, we will vote on the motion." Then, if after this warning, no one asks for the floor, the Chair would put the motion to a vote. Sometimes a formal motion is needed to prevent discussion from being too prolonged, *e.g.*, a member might obtain the floor and say, "I move that debate be closed." If this subsidiary motion is favored by a 2/3 vote, discussion would be formally closed.

Unfortunately the motion "Previous Question" is often used in place of the simple, intelligible motion "Close Debate." Adoption of the "Previous Question" (by a 2/3 standing vote) not only prevents motions to "Refer" and to "Postpone Definitely," but also prevents further motions to "Amend." This archaic, misleading motion should be abolished.

Unfortunately the motion to "Table" is frequently used to cut off debate and kill a motion by a bare majority vote. This is inconsistent with the general rule that it takes a 2/3 vote to close debate.

Great care should be used to avoid forcing a vote on a controversial issue by the undemocratic use of motions which close debate. Railroading is an important example of undemocratic tactics.

IV. *A decision on the motion is made, e. g.,*

- A. *The motion may be adopted by general consent.* The Chair might say, "If there is no objection we will consider the motion adopted. Hearing no objection, the motion is adopted, and the Trustees will proceed to purchase the television set." Decision by general consent is widely used in committee meetings and even large assemblies on non-controversial routine matters, *e.g.*, on approval of minutes, on requests for permission to make announcements, on questions for information relevant to pending business.
- B. *The motion may be rejected* by adoption of a motion to "Dismiss from Consideration." This motion would require a 2/3 vote and would be undebatable. It is a relatively new motion, but seems preferable to using the motion to "Table"

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THINKING AND SPEAKING ABOUT CAUSES

PART II*

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When a billiard ball moves down a table toward another billiard ball and hits it, the second ball is put in motion. If we try to analyze the "cause" of the motion of the second ball, all we can find is the conjunction of two events. The cause itself, as David Hume, the Scotch skeptic, pointed out, is never observed. Billiard ball "A" hits ball "B," and ball "B" is set in motion. No more than this is observable.

When causes are analyzed as intensively as possible, one can do little more than to demonstrate that a cause may be operating by showing that a cause and effect are associated. In using this method of dealing with causes, the speaker will find the Canons of Causation of John Stuart Mill of considerable help. Mill, writing in the last century, developed five Canons. A simplified version of Mill's analysis is presented here to help speakers who wish to show that a cause and an effect are associated.

THE METHOD OF AGREEMENT

The method of agreement can be illustrated as follows:

Suppose seven men in a dormitory become suddenly sick. To locate the cause of their illness, we would try to find something common in their experience that might have caused their difficulty. We would inquire of them where they ate, and would not be surprised to find that they had eaten in the same restaurant. Then we would try to find out if they had eaten the same thing, and might be at a loss if we found that some ate hamburger and that some had eaten ham. But we would, probably, have located the cause of their illness when we discovered that they had all eaten mustard. We might then form a tentative hypothesis that something in the mustard had caused their plight. In forming this

hypothesis, we would have found a common element in their experience—something in which their experience *agrees*—that may be the cause of the illness.

The method of agreement can be stated as follows: *Whenever an alleged cause is present, a related effect must occur.* This method requires a speaker to accumulate examples and statistics that show that the cause and effect are associated in a convincing number of instances. If we were to use the method of agreement to demonstrate that a certain factor caused crime, we would accumulate cases showing that when the factor was present, crimes resulted. If we wished to use the method to show that reducing the work expected of teachers resulted in better teaching, we would find examples, and compile statistics to show that whenever the teaching load was reduced, measurably better teaching resulted. Or, we might show that economic aid to depressed countries reduces the appeal of communism by giving cases in which membership in the Communist Party in these countries was reduced as economic conditions became better. Again, we might try to show that a certain factor causes the decline of civilization by pointing out that whenever that factor was present, past civilizations have declined. Thus the method of agreement is one that requires that we accumulate instances and statistics which show that when the alleged cause was present, the expected effect also occurred.

The method, however, has some difficulties. In the following diagram, one might, if one were untutored in such matters, draw the wrong conclusion about the cause:

Water + Whiskey	→	Intoxication
Water + Scotch	→	Intoxication
Water + Gin	→	Intoxication
Water + Brandy	→	Intoxication

A Difficulty with the Method of Agreement

THE METHOD OF DIFFERENCE

We could easily test whether the water is the cause of intoxication by re-doing the experiment with one difference—leaving out the water. If, then, intoxication still resulted, we would be convinced that it was not the water that caused the result, but some common element in the whiskey, Scotch, gin, or brandy. This new method may be stated as follows: *When the cause is not present, the effect should not be, and when the effect is not present, the cause should not be.* The method of difference must always be preceded by the method of agreement and it is, in effect, a further test of whatever hypotheses are suggested by the method of agreement.

At one time, physiologists were convinced by their use of the method of agreement that the cause of hunger was the stomach contractions that occurred when a person was hungry. They arrived at this conclusion by the following experiment: A balloon was inserted into a subject's stomach and inflated. This balloon was then attached to a pressure gauge which showed, whenever the subject reported that he felt hungry, increased pressure resulting from the contraction of the stomach walls. In every case tested, contractions were present. If the method of agreement were perfect, we could be sure that these contractions were an indispensable part of the cause of hunger. But there are no "perfect" methods of analyzing causes.

Several years later, the method of difference was used to overthrow the older hypothesis. This method requires that we find people who are hungry, but who have no stomach contractions. Such people are those born without stomachs, or those who have had their stomachs removed surgically. As a result of studying such people, it has been found that even these people still experience hunger, despite their lack of stomach contractions. The method of difference, therefore, serves as a correction on the method of agreement.

The method of difference can be used to help establish hypotheses, however, as well as to reject them. In the previous illustration of the men in the dormitory who were ill from eating mustard, we might use the method of difference to confirm our hypothesis. How could this be done? One could supply hamburgers and ham from the same batch to several subjects, but not permit anyone to have mustard. If these people did not become ill, we would be more certain about the hypothesis that the mustard was the cause of the illness.

Thus the method of difference attempts to remove the alleged cause and to see what effect is produced.

It is the method used by careful experimentalists. If one wishes to test the effects of a given drug on influenza, one will use the method of agreement and give the drug to a number of patients. But one will also give a placebo—a drug known to have no effect—to other patients to create a difference in which the alleged cause is not present. Thus, the method of agreement and the method of difference are useful in showing that an alleged cause and effect are associated.

THE METHOD OF CORRELATION

The method of correlation is not unlike the previous methods and may be stated as follows: *If a large amount of the cause is present, there should be a large amount of the effect; if a small amount of the cause is present, there should be a small amount of the effect.* Thus, we might find that when the economic conditions of a European country are very bad, there are also many members of the Communist Party, but as the conditions of that country improve, there are fewer members of the same party, and as, in time, the conditions become productive and wealth increases, that the number of Communists becomes negligible. Or, to return to our illustration of the men in the dormitory who were ill: those who ate a large amount of mustard should be very ill while those who ate only a small amount should be only slightly ill. We might, again, find the effects of good grades on later earning capacity. A careful study would reveal that generally students with "C" grades in college receive lower incomes than students with "B" grades and those with "A" grades receive the highest incomes, in fact, so high that in the course of a lifetime, they will make over \$100,000 more than the "C" student.

There are dangers to the method of correlation just as there are dangers inherent in every other form of reasoning. At least three of these dangers should be noted: First of all, two things may be closely correlated without being related to each other causally when both things are caused by the same factor. Two clocks, for example, may be perfectly related in that they each move at the same speed; yet it could not be argued that one causes the other. The two clocks, of course, move together because they both have the same construction. A second error often made in interpreting correlated phenomena is to mistake the cause for the effect. The rooster may think that it brings the sun up when it crows, or the farmer's dog believe that it chases the auto away from the farm. In a like manner, some sociologists believe that it is not comic books that cause a tendency toward socially undesirable behavior,

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ROBERT FROST'S INAUGURAL DEDICATION:

The Poet in Public Ceremony

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The air is charged with expectancy. The old man approaches the lectern. The sheet of paper he carries is whipped by the cold wind. His free hand tries to still the paper's fluttering. He starts to read, he falters, he mutters, looks up at the sun, the Vice President of the United States seeks to shade the agitated sheet, the faces behind him show concern, but the bright sun continues to blind the old man. Finally, accepting his defeat, Robert Frost, poet laureate of the inaugural of John F. Kennedy, boldly states, "This was supposed to be a preface to a poem that I can say to you without seeing it. The poem goes this way . . ."

Robert Frost said his poem, "The Gift Outright," in a firm, clear voice. There was no faltering now. No struggling with a fluttering sheet. No distress from the sun still glaring, still blinding. The poet was saying his poem, not reading words from a sheet of paper. He was sharing a part of himself with other people. Why could he say his poem? Why could he not say his dedication?

In that moment of agony when the distressed but dignified old man strained to read his dedication, and the faces around him strove to support his wavering spirit—how many hearts silently called out—"speak from the heart, old man, speak from the heart. Say what the ripeness of 86 years has taught you of human experience. Speak from the heart, dear friend, as eloquently as you would from the page." But he did not . . . or could not. Why not?

Why could this famed and universally loved old man say his poem without seeing it? Why could he not say the preface to it without reading it?

Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, was in close touch with Frost regarding the poet's appearance at the Inauguration, and in an article he wrote later for the *New York Times Magazine* he shed new light on the circumstances surrounding Frost and his dedication. In early December Frost was invited to read one of his poems for the ceremony; he selected "The Gift Outright." On the morning of the Inauguration, he asked for and received permission "to say a few

things besides reading the poem." He had composed a "dedicatory poem he had started to write only the afternoon before." He did not have time to memorize it. These are the simple facts of the matter, according to Secretary Udall.

Let us examine these facts more closely. The invitation came in early December, yet Frost waited until the day before the ceremony to write his dedication. Why so late with the writing? A good month had elapsed. Does this not contradict in part the subtitle of Secretary Udall's article, "Invited to read a famous poem at the Inauguration, he was so stirred that he wrote a new one—that he didn't read"? Why was he "stirred" at the eleventh hour, regarding an event for which he had dreamed and worked so long?

Why Frost waited so long to write his dedication can probably be satisfactorily stated by the poet himself. But we can speculate . . . or has he already given us the answer when he said, "A poem cannot be worried into being"?

CHAMPION OF CULTURE

His appearance at the Inauguration was supposed to be a great moment for Frost, the opportunity which he had long championed. He had campaigned for a National Academy of Culture to stimulate public interest in the fine arts, and to encourage and honor excellence. In his role as honorary consultant in the humanities to the Library of Congress, Frost had appeared before the Education Sub-committee on Labor and Public Welfare to testify on a bill to create such an academy. A reading of the excerpts of the hearing will reveal at once Frost's deep and intense desire for his country to have and to nourish the arts, artists, and poets. Frost told the Sub-committee that he would be disappointed if a great nation like ours grew famous and prosperous without the arts—like Carthage. He explained that he would like an assurance from Washington that our government is aware of the arts and the artists, and to have the poets, artists, writers, and sculptors declared equal to big business, to science,

and to scholarship. He went on to emphasize that this awareness must be an official act by the country to recognize this equality. The Academy would help achieve this recognition, this awareness. "And the awareness is the great thing . . .," said Frost.

Robert Frost, standing in person before the distinguished gathering, his image and voice being carried to the far corners of the world by TV and film had (along with the other 155 writers and artists who had been invited to the inaugural by Kennedy) finally achieved the recognition and awareness and equality for which he had hoped and worked. Then why the failure to rise to the occasion and sing his song of triumph and thanksgiving? Why was he reduced, in this moment of fulfillment, to mumbling and muttering, "I can't see in this light"? Is the light of the sun symbolic of the light of public recognition? Is it difficult, and in the case of the poet, impossible to "see," to perform, in this glare? These questions disturb us. Yet the fact remains that Frost said his poem without "seeing" it. Are there two kinds of "seeing" and two kinds of performance here? Does the performance of the dedication demand a different discipline from the performance of the poem?

Perhaps a clue to these questions is offered by Frost's declaration to the Sub-committee that all art is performance and not scholarship. He went on to stress that he did not write reviews or criticism "because that's not the spirit of it to me . . ."

Secretary Udall deepens our perception of the poet's spirit, this spirit is our primary concern here, when he says that Frost "has always lacked the forced-inspiration gift of the poets laureate." Is this "forced-inspiration" not one of the conditions demanded by the occasion of the Inauguration? And is it not a violation of the poet's spirit? Secretary Udall adds, "Not once in his career had he written a verse for an occasion." This is rather significant when one considers that the poet in question at the time of the Inauguration was 86 years old.

THE SPIRIT OF IT TO ME

"That's not the spirit of it to me." Is this the reason why he was unable to "see" the dedication? The sun and the wind are blamed for his inability to read, and this is plausible considering his advanced years. Still, however, there is a nagging feeling that the real reason is more internal than external. Did the performing of the dedication ask for the same activity as the writing of reviews and criticism? And was this a denial of the poet in him? May we conclude that this contradiction might possibly have a basis in the very

nature of the differences that exist between a dedication—whose purpose is to declare and affirm, and that of poetry—whose purpose, in Frost's opinion, is "toning things up a little, that's the spirit of my life . . . that's what poetry is about. Toning us up."

Robert Frost could say his poem because his poem is personal, a part of his being, an essential segment of the fulness of his soul. It was born of years of sensitive, perceptive, creative living chiseled from his humanity and compassionate insight and understanding of the history of human experience. Furthermore, his poem deals with the eternal values, while the dedication is concerned with an immediate occasion. The latter is functional and timely; the former is spiritual and timeless. The dedication is composed outside of the creative instincts of the poet; his poem is a spontaneous outflow of the deepest convictions of the poet.

It is Secretary Udall who advances one of the strongest arguments against the "forced-inspiration" of the dedication. In his opening paragraph he observes that we have never had a poet laureate because the spirit of American poetry does not easily lend itself to the occasion. He uses Frost as his authority, "As Robert Frost put it, 'A poem cannot be worried into being.'"

It is interesting to note that it was some time after the Inauguration that Frost sent Secretary Udall a "final version of this poem." Was the poet's inability to read his dedicatory poem due in part to his dissatisfaction with its unfinished form and quality? Secretary Udall reveals that the morning of the Inaugural Frost "was still tinkering with the lines." When Robert Frost, first poet of the land, stood before the world audience ready to read his dedication, was he, in this solemn moment, unable to violate one of his own principles of art—"A poem cannot be worried into being"?

Did the elements, as a friend jokingly suggested to Frost, join forces to defeat the old poet standing there exposed because they thought, "The old man's over-reaching himself, let's put him in his place"? Or was Robert Frost, the man, defeated by Robert Frost, the poet?

Frost told the Sub-committee, "All I'm interested in is the pleasure of sharing young people's and older people's work and poetry." A poet gives of himself and asks us to share with him his most intimate thoughts and most personal values. Did the dedication violate Frost's poetic instincts and the spirit in him? The poem we know is the result of a man turned poet. Is the dedication, then, the result of the poet turned man, and, as Frost stated to the Sub-committee, "That's not the spirit of it to me"?

CONSIDER THE LISTENER

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Fortunately this was one we could laugh off. I was being transferred to another campus, and the man who was taking over the guidance center had joined me at dinner in the student union. Walking out with me afterward, he pointed to a brightly lighted building across the street and asked, as I thought, "Is that a maternity hospital?"

"Well, I hope not," I informed him; "that is the Kappa Psi Phi House." No smile lighted his face; it was a polite blank, and I knew I was somehow fouled up. "Didn't you ask me if that was a maternity hospital?" Then he smiled broadly. "Why, no! I asked if it was a fraternity house, and you said you hoped not, it was the Kappa Psi Phi House; it just didn't make sense." My little blunder had a happier ending than some; incidents like this one may easily lead to misunderstandings and hard feelings.

Today's tolerant attitude toward the hard-of-hearing* is far removed from the slapstick vaudeville era, when with the rube and the half-witted boy they were standard objects of tricks and jokes. Now people everywhere are aware that the partial loss of this important sense is no joke. However, it is still a much misunderstood affliction. Impaired hearing is naturally thought of as a diminution in the volume of sound to the hearer, which it may be. However, there may be with it a loss of the binaural effect, lessening the ability to locate a source of sound. These losses are greatly aggravated if sounds take on a muffled or garbled quality. Millions of people hear a distorted version of what the normal ear receives.

For several days after an accident to one of my ears, all voices sounded like Donald Duck's. Greatly to my relief, this cleared up somewhat, but all the sounds I hear are still muffled.

"RINGING IN THE EARS"

So much for the distortion of air waves that actually exist, but that is not all the hard-of-hearing have to

contend with. From time immemorial millions of people (mostly the elderly) have complained of "ringing in the ears," which at best is only a halfway description. Add the hissing of escaping steam, the roaring of a cataract, and the chirping of crickets all combined and you have some conception of what many people have to put up with through every waking moment. These "head-noises" originate right in the hearing mechanism itself, and the victim is prone to wonder whether they are worse than hearing nothing at all.

Less common, or perhaps less commonly identified by the sufferers, are certain very strange effects. One of these seems to be related to the tiny capillaries somewhere in the mechanism of the ear. One of my friends speaks with syllables that are clear and sharp but with almost explosive emphasis. It puzzled me that his flow of conversation should be difficult to follow, but suddenly I noticed that I was hearing a peculiar "whoosh" when he talked. Careful attention revealed that the "whoosh" followed each strong syllable after a split-second lag. It is my impression that the extra impact acts as a stimulus that causes a nerve reaction, with some change in the flow of blood in the capillaries, and that is the "whoosh."

Whatever the explanation, the "whoosh" seems to be timed just about right to coincide with the next syllable and gum it up. No wonder this good strong voice is hard to understand. Then, under entirely different circumstances, I observed a phenomenon that may be closely related. Leaving my commuter train each day on my return homeward, and walking up the long flight of steps, I could hear industrial sounds from a plant a mile distant. This hum of sound was intermittent, with a very regular beat. Then I became aware that this intermittent sound was replaced gradually by a sustained continuous sound, but it seemed to be the same sound. I came to the conclusion that here again was the effect of a stronger pulse resulting from the exertion of getting off the train and climbing the steps, with a momentary blackout of sound.

* Some authorities prefer to reserve the term "deaf" for those who can not hear at all.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Such are some of the more immediate effects of impaired hearing. Unfortunately there are others, less realized, of psychological character. The hard-of-hearing generally learn to make some adjustment to circumstances, and as a practical matter they expect those about them to do the same. Too often this just does not happen. It is very difficult to resist a feeling of resentment when it is necessary to ask a mumblor, almost invariably, to repeat. When the second attempt is always so much better, why could there not be a little more effort the first time? Then there is the completely frustrating experience of asking that part of a spoken comment be repeated, and to specify exactly what part was obscure, only to have the speaker go back over a whole long statement, changing it as he goes, and perhaps never clearing up what was so mysterious. At this point the listener is apt to become completely immersed in his own thoughts as he tries to figure out what those lost words might have been.

This leads naturally to a dangerous habit that can be very helpful or equally harmful—the habit of depending on guesswork. The better one's vocabulary, the greater the temptation to supply from the imagination what one missed in the spoken word. The habit can be developed into a real art. Probably many alert and well-educated persons develop it and can follow quite well when they are actually hearing only a small part of what is spoken, but the danger is always there. One bad misinterpretation can ruin a friendship or damage a business relationship. Equally dangerous is the attitude so difficult to fight off, the feeling that if the speaker is not interested enough to make the necessary effort, the listener may be excused for indifference on his part. There is a strong temptation to ignore the lost message, particularly when speaker and listener are not close together. This, if it becomes habitual, has obvious dangers for all concerned.

All of these secondary effects, in addition to the physical ones, affect social activities. They may constitute an actual disability, interfering with proper performance of duties and possibly terminating employment. The frustrations and annoyances and embarrassing situations are, to say the least, very discouraging, and probably contribute to many an unhappy family situation.

SPEAKERS' FAULTS

With all the benefit that surgery and electronic aids can offer, practitioners in speech should count on a high percentage of listeners who hear poorly. Short of rebuilding a speaking delivery and style, what can a speaker do for these persons? The most obvious part

of the answer, of course, is to avoid slovenly articulation. There can be no excuse for slurring and mumbling. To our shame, this begins among children in the lower grades in school. The rarity of really good speech in our adult population proves that the faults are not easily outgrown. Here and there one finds an occasional child whose speech is clear and distinct, which simply proves that nothing less is satisfactory. Speech with less than perfect articulation can become a lifetime handicap.

Even the faults that are less obvious can be quite serious for the hard-of-hearing listener. Two that are opposite extremes may be mentioned together—monotony and overemphasis. One provides no high spots to guide the thought of the listener. The other is jarring to the nerves and may give listeners the fidgets, which in turn leads to inattentiveness.

Another fault that is common even among preachers and other professional speakers is a dropping off of volume toward the end of a sentence. There, so often, is the main point of the thought, and the poor hearer will miss it entirely. A combination of this fault and a monotonous style may have contributed to the defeat of former President Hoover in his campaign for reelection. One of the first to use radio in a campaign, he was never trained to use it effectively. More recently one of our best-known congressmen, appearing on TV, was at great disadvantage because of his ability to speak with extreme rapidity, which made his flow of words difficult to follow.

A singsong style of delivery is another fault that hinders the listener. Pulpit speakers are sometimes guilty of it, particularly in reading. The fault is chiefly a negative one—there is insufficient emphasis on the key words to help the hearer follow the thought. Some of these faults interfere with reaching both good and poor hearers, but it is to be remembered that the hard-of-hearing need every possible advantage.

Little idiosyncrasies have much to do with successful speech. One of my friends loves to tell a funny incident to family groups or friends, but invariably he ruins it. To begin with, his enunciation is extremely poor. As he nears the point of the story, he unconsciously tries to add to its humor with a little chuckle or giggle of his own. The result is a complete flop for some of us. I manage to smile at the right time and later I privately make sure I did not miss anything important.

There is much to be learned by listening to people of other lands. Making allowance for some of the extremes, such as the Oxford accent, Cockney, and the dialects of some of the shires, one must admit that an Englishman's syllables are clear-cut. The same is

true of the measured delivery of the Scot, in spite of the burr. Those of us who hear poorly note great differences among our entertainers and other public speakers. The clipped words of Katharine Hepburn are an example; there is not a blurred syllable. Even as we listen to those in our own environment, it is interesting to analyze why one speaks well and another one poorly.

No less interesting and important is the analysis of sounds that are difficult for the hard-of-hearing. For some the letter "s" drops out completely; this may be because of a hissing head-noise. Unless the "s" is good and strong, it can not be distinguished from the hissing sound that is being heard continuously. As Pennzoil puts it, "Sound your Z." If the listener is constantly hearing humming noises, how can he tell the difference between "bin" and "pin"? If a dull roaring sound is coming from his own damaged auditory nerve, how can he distinguish between "good" and "could"? And if there are crickets in his ears, how well is he going to hear the letter "k"? Attention to these particularly difficult letters will help the public speaker immensely toward reaching the hard-of-hearing.

CONVERSATION WITH THE HARD-OF-HEARING

Private conversation presents some difficulties that are generally eliminated from a good auditorium. For many types of poor hearing, nothing is so baffling as competing noises such as hissing steam, rumbling trucks, automobile exhausts, pounding wheels, tooting horns, blasting whistles, and the overpowering roar of the airplane. At times these ubiquitous modern-life sounds make conversation almost impossible. Timing one's talk to fall between the worst moments is about the only available relief.

Somehow the most trying situation of all seems to be the room full of people all conversing at once. For me, at least, it tops everything. How vividly I remember attending a reception at the beginning of an academic year, in the home of a newly installed college president. Bumping about happily, all were exchanging summer experiences and new prospects, presumably. The yak-yak seemed to be intelligible to all but me, but screamed pleasantries a few inches from my ear were just so many decibels. Ordinarily my nerves can take quite a lot, but to avoid this meaningless din I hastily retreated into the delicious quiet of an autumn evening.

If one has a purpose in speaking and initiates a conversation, he should accept the responsibility for making the other man hear. It is for him to make

certain that the other knows he is being addressed, and to accommodate his speech to the hearing of the person spoken to. At some distance, or in different rooms, this is particularly true. When persons are closer together, the slightly turned head of the listener, or his forwardly inclined body, is often an indication that he is missing some of the words. A puzzled expression is even more telltale. A wrong answer from him is sure proof that the message did not get through. Thoughtfulness requires that a speaker direct his voice straight to the hearer. Words spoken by a person who is looking out of a window, or while bending down to pick up an object, or with the gaze averted, are likely to be lost. This is compounded by the rumble if the persons are riding in a car.

It is not easy to account for the confusion of one word with another; they may have no superficial resemblance whatever. "Two" and "three" certainly do not sound alike, yet I mistake one of these for the other with such frequency that I have become suspicious of them; it has become almost regular practice for me to ask for a repetition of these numerals to avoid error. I am certain that my frequently voiced complaints must sometimes cause the suspicion that I am inattentive or in some other way at fault for not hearing. I would be inclined to blame myself more often but for the fact that I can hear some clear speakers with no effort whatever, when in the same room I am embarrassed by inability to understand what other persons are talking about. The only possible inference is poor speech. However, I have known for years that I must make every possible effort to compensate for my lessened contact by increased attentiveness.

Most persons with impaired hearing learn unconsciously to do the little things that help them to hear. They draw closer, turn the head to the most advantageous angle, watch for gestures and facial expressions that have meaning. Some attend classes to learn lip reading. It is claimed that many acquire a degree of lip reading ability without even being aware of it. It is quite common for the hard-of-hearing to take advantageous locations in churches, theatres, and auditoriums. This may be a matter of nearness to the platform, but echoes may also be studied and avoided. This brings up the matter of hearing aids as they are sometimes provided in churches. These aids have one great advantage over the personal ones. These transmit the words direct from the microphone, at the speaker's location, to the ear of the listener. In the quiet of a church, this magnified sound is relatively free from magnified echoes and noises. This is different from the aid that picks up the sound right at the listener's ear, which receives all echoes and noises and

magnifies them as well as the sermon.

This record of a listener's troubles may well close with an illustration of a situation mentioned in an earlier paragraph, in which the listener asks for a repetition of something that was difficult to understand. Someone says to me, for instance, "That cloud formation would sure make nice photography." What it sounds like to me is "At owd ornation oodoor ache ice dog fee." Not even English! So I ask, hopefully, "That what, and what was it you said about it?" Speaking very clearly now, he answers half of my question, "It would make nice photography." Now we are beginning to get somewhere, so I try again with "What would?" And he replies dreamily, "I've never seen anything quite like it."

See what I mean? Please speak clearly and distinctly so that we hard-of-hearing may answer you sensibly.

IN DEFENSE OF SPEECH

Continued from page 4

selves by taking stock of our position and improving it. Speech must become, like all behavioral disciplines, primarily a social science, utilizing the methods and attitudes of science to bring more order and knowledge to society. It is quite apparent that we are not yet at that stage of development. Yet, our goal is to understand an important aspect of human behavior—speech—and to train citizens in its effective use. As "scientists" we will be able to progress efficiently in our quest for understanding. As "nonscientists" we will continue to be tied to our former biases and limitations. The future of speech as an accepted and worthy profession may well be affected by the choice we make.

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CARLOS P. ROMULO, ORATOR

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speech at Bacolod was a turning point in the campaign, a turning away from gangsterism in conducting a campaign to law-abiding administration of the ballot box. At Bacolod Romulo stood up to the goons, the hoodlums, the gangsters who were trying to intimidate the electorate. Men who had grown rich on the sale of billions of dollars worth of American equipment left on the islands were attempting to keep in power an administration that sanctioned their corruption. At the edges of the audience gangsters stood with machine guns pointed at the platform. There were soldiers stationed on the platform to protect the speaker. Romulo cleared the platform of the soldiers set to guard him. Over a national hook-up that night at Bacolod his fellow countrymen heard him say, as he took the microphone closer to the edge of the platform, "Shoot if you have to, but shoot me." Then to the people, he said, "Don't run! Keep your ground! These cowards don't dare fire!" And again he said to the hoodlums, "Go ahead if you dare, shoot me!" Nothing happened. The gangsters disappeared into the night. Then Romulo addressed himself to his immediate audience and to the national radio audience. He told them not to be intimidated, but to go to the polls and vote. They did. Magsaysay was elected.

Carlos P. Romulo is America's dividend, her bonus, the flowering of the seeds of democracy planted in the Philippines a half century ago. If anyone ever doubted that America had a distinct mission in the world, all he need do is to see what happened in the Philippines when her democratic ideals were grafted on to a Spanish-Asian civilization. This vigorous young nation produced a Romulo. Here is an Asian, with Spanish blood, who speaks in accents understandable by men and women trained in Democracy. He knows the American language with all its subtle overtones. There have been writers and philosophers of the Orient, like Lin Yutang, who have instructed and entertained us, but there is no other Far East politician and diplomat who has loved Democracy and who was not ashamed to proclaim his love from the housetops. At such a time as this Democracy needs an interpreter who can see Asia through Asian eyes. Democracy needs a spokesman like Romulo who can stand up in the midst of her enemies and call a lie a lie. Bataan united the heart of Romulo to the United States. There is no affectation when he speaks of America as "Mother America." Neither should there be any affectation when America clasps him to her bosom and calls him, as the Philippines proudly do, "Carlos, my son."

THE GREAT DEBATES IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

Continued from page 11

partisan political rallies. At the very least the debate situation gave voters an opportunity—indeed, it practically forced them—to study the responses of each candidate to challenges from the other. And when a candidate evaded instead of responding, voters were able to note that also.

1964 DEBATES

How, then, can we improve the debates in 1964? Not, I suggest, by trying to convert them from popular discussions into a public version of National Security Council meetings. That would be impractical and unwise. The candidates would never agree to it; the national welfare would suffer; the electorate would be confused and probably bored. What can be accomplished are changes in format and procedure which will give voters more and better evidence concerning the quality of the candidates' minds.

If we must have questions from a panel of reporters—and both candidates absolutely insisted on that in 1960—then we should try to emancipate the reporters from the one-question-at-a-time restriction which prevented them from bringing any pressure to bear when answers were not responsive.

We should try to induce future candidates to admit to the panel articulate citizens from fields other than journalism and broadcasting, or to answer questions submitted by the public at large and screened by an impartial committee. The point would be to break out of the necessarily limited circle of concerns voiced by even such a heterogeneous group as reporters, and thereby hopefully to present the candidates with new situations to react to.

Most of all, we should press for a debate format in 1964 which would permit—perhaps force is more accurate—the candidates to confront one another more directly. It is not longer speeches or more detailed discussion which would be of greatest benefit to voters, but provision for more direct responses of one candidate to challenges from the other.

If these suggestions seem inadequate, then all the more reason to start thinking now about ways in which the debates might give voters a keener understanding of the candidates instead of wasting time on proposals which have little chance of acceptance and which, if accepted, would not be likely to improve the situation.

If we view the debates in the perspective of this society instead of Utopia, we are more likely to conserve and improve the most promising political innovation of our lifetime.

SCARED!

Continued from page 8

and move toward the audience. Carry your head high. Stand "solid" with feet spread slightly and with weight on both feet; at all costs, do not lean away from the audience. Speak with a full, booming voice; speak almost entirely to the last row. *Two.* Use charts, pictures, models, and blackboard drawings to illustrate your speeches. Include descriptions that force your voice and body to respond. If you have excess energy, do not dissipate it in distracting movements; instead, walk toward and away from the audience at appropriate transitions in thought, or release it by toe-wiggling (not in open-toed shoes!) or by gesturing for illustration or emphasis. Before beginning your speech, wait to take a couple of deep breaths. Walk deliberately to the front of the platform. Pause before beginning to make sure that you have complete self-control and audience control. Speak slowly and deliberately enough to maintain control.

A *third* "cure" depends upon composition and preparation. For each speech, prepare a detailed outline that divides one idea, and that divides it cleanly and simply according to one pattern (such as times, spaces, categories, or reasons). Memorize the outline and practice the speech several times aloud. Confident that you are well-prepared, you will be ready to demand audience attention and respect.

The *fourth* "cure" attempts to change the frightened speaker's mental attitude. You are not delivering a State of the Union address. Few historians will mention the speech, even in a footnote. You express opinions constantly; no one can stop you when you're sitting down. Isn't it silly to be scared while standing up? You aren't frightened of conversation; so make your speech as much like conversation as you can. Look at *individuals* in the audience, and talk for several sentences to some of them. Expect a reply. In fact, get a reply from their facial expressions and respond to it.

Which "cure" works? All of them. Which is best? All are equally effective because all bring about organization and self-control. Try the one that suits your temperament. If you don't kill the butterflies, at least you'll cage them.

Too much noise deafens us; too much light blinds us; too great a distance or too much of proximity equally prevents us from being able to see; too long or too short a discourse obscures our knowledge of a subject; too much truth stuns us.

—PASCAL

THINKING AND SPEAKING ABOUT CAUSES

Continued from page 21

but rather that the tendencies toward such behavior may cause the reading of comic books. Thirdly, a mistake in the analysis of correlated factors may occur because the relation is accidental. Thus those who were President in 1840, 1860, 1880, 1920, and 1940 died in office. The relationship can hardly, however, be called causal, and is most probably coincidental.

SUFFICIENT CAUSES

A complicating feature makes the analysis of causes particularly difficult. Many kinds of causes may produce the same effect. I may cause myself to be transported across the country by automobile, train, plane, or bus. Any one of these causes is *sufficient* to get me to my destination. In the same sense, there are many sufficient causes of delinquency, each of which can produce, under certain conditions, a delinquent. In investigating the relation between broken homes and crime, we should find many cases in which individuals from broken homes have not engaged in criminal activity. Could one then assume that divorce is not a partial cause of delinquency? Such a conclusion might be as unsound as saying that death could not be caused by a bullet in the head because so many people have died without being shot there. We must not let the canons blind us to the fact that there are some causes that will operate under some conditions but not under others. Apparently, broken homes, *under certain conditions*, predispose a child toward delinquency, but under certain other conditions, broken homes do not. What we need to do is to specify the conditions under which a sufficient cause will operate. Thus our causal statement should take the form, "Broken homes predispose children to delinquency when . . ." Until we can make more careful statements of conditions under which certain causal factors operate, we must be careful about permanently abandoning an alleged cause that is not immediately confirmed by the methods of difference or correlation.

There are, finally, no sure methods for discovering causes, but in human affairs, we must use faulty methods to make decisions. Our decisions will always be based on *probable*, rather than *certain*, evidence. There is no road to certainty, no perfect rule for thought and analysis, and no formula for problem-solving that does not have exceptions. Our methods are admittedly imperfect, but these methods will help us make fewer errors than we might have without them.

FIVE BASIC STEPS OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Continued from page 19

to kill. The two orthodox motions designed to kill ("Object to the Consideration" and "Postpone Indefinitely") have failed to be useful.

C. *The motion may be put to a formal vote.*

1. A *viva voce* (voice) vote may be taken as follows:

- a. The Chair reads the motion, *e.g.*, "We will now vote on the motion as amended, which reads 'That we purchase a television set for the lounge at a cost not to exceed \$300.'"
- b. The Chair calls for the affirmative vote, "Those in favor of the motion as amended, say AYE." (Or he may use the more modern form: "Those in favor of the motion as amended, say YES.")
- c. The Chair calls for the negative vote, "Those opposed, say NO."
- d. The Chair announces the result of the vote, *e.g.*, "The motion as amended is carried, and the Trustees will make the purchase of the television set."

2. A vote may be taken by standing, by show of hands, by ballot, or by roll call.

V. *The decision of the body is carried out*, i. e., the Trustees buy the television set. Up to this step the democratic process is primarily deliberative and legislative in character, and is governed by parliamentary law (rules of order). This last step is primarily administrative (executive) in character. The rules of the organization and the action of the parliamentary body should make it very clear who is to carry out the decision of the body (assembly or committee). If the officer, board, or committee, whose duty it is to carry out the decision, fails to execute it properly, DEMOCRACY FAILS! In general, the main function of the assembly is to determine the POLICIES of the organization, and the main function of the officers and of the board is to carry out those policies. If both the assembly and the administration do their jobs well, DEMOCRACY SUCCEEDS!

Raised voices lower esteem. Hot tempers cool friendship. Loose tongues stretch truth. Swelled heads shrink influence. Sharp words dull respect.

—WILLIAM WARD

POETRY READING AND THE AMERICAN IDEA

Continued from page 13

America understand and read with a vision of truth Miss Millay's "The Murder of Lidice" and Archibald MacLeish's "America Was Promises."

Let there be verse reading hours in each school. Since 1942, at the University of Pittsburgh, there have been student poetry reading hours and meetings when members of the faculty read. May there be an increasing number of listening hours and may they be in rooms conducive to listening, attractive, comfortable rooms, rooms that are friendly and inviting.

And let there be programs resulting from creative speech study, bringing together the verse of many poets, giving a spread of experience, allowing the students to cut across the life of our country. Use a narrator as in *Our Town* and *Victory Road*. Get mass effects of the people speaking by using two, three, or four voices. Here may be a creative speech program at its best. It requires of the teacher the same thorough study required of the most sensitive and able director of an orchestra or a play.

The American idea, the American dream and its promise, have run through the centuries like a musical theme in the symphony of life. As we become a part of this great orchestration, the word and the creative reader are as one even as the word was with God. So it is that the student reader brings to life the "Anne Rutledge" of Edgar Lee Masters, the "Nancy Hanks" and the "Abraham Lincoln" of Stephen Vincent Benét, and the "Proud Day" in Washington, D. C., by Genevieve Taggard when Marian Anderson sang at the feet of Lincoln.

And then it is that we teachers join our students on the creative caravan and pray with all free men, as the men and women of a younger America must have prayed crossing western Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio, crossing the prairies of the west and far west.

In a simple rural society a soapbox, a healthy pair of lungs, and the ability to walk to the village square gives any citizen an opportunity to reach the idea marketplace. However, in large urban communities it is frequently necessary to resort to the dramatic, the offbeat, and even occasionally to the poor taste device to gain attention.

—Judge ROBERT J. BURTON in a decision in a New Rochelle (N. Y.) school controversy

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There was a time when everybody spoke one language, and learned men wrote another. It was called the Dark Ages.—Samuel T. Williamson

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The closed mouth gathers no foot.—Viking Vacuum

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Perspective

The future for speech and hearing pathology is challenging and exciting—the range of study will increase; the patterns of diagnosis will change; the programs of therapy will make more direct use of new information. Assistance to the many speech and hearing handicapped will increase in scope and depth.

In the past, speech and hearing disorders were handled in a disjointed way. Speech disorders were often seen as simple mechanical difficulties that could be treated by exercises with little concern for individual needs. Many responded to this type of therapy; those who failed were usually thought to be uncooperative. Rehabilitative measures for the hearing handicapped were limited too with pessimistic goals.

At the present time we recognize, first of all, that speech pathology and audiology have many resources such as medicine, education, psychology, physics and biology. Secondly, the individual with a communication problem is seen as an entity and his needs are diversified; his responses reflect his needs. As a result, diagnostic procedures have become more involved, often requiring the services of several specialties. Therapy has become, therefore, a much more complicated process in which communication disorders cannot be treated without attention to related problems. With focus on the whole individual, rehabilitative procedures have become more intensive and extensive.

For the prospective clinician, the profession of speech and hearing pathology is a dynamic one. Entrance into this field is a promise of stimulating and rewarding experiences in providing service to the handicapped.

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VOLUME 9, NUMBER 4, NOVEMBER 1961

Our Readers Write

Editor:

As a result of a nation-wide preferential poll of college and university directors of forensics, the following have been selected for use during the 1961-1962 school year.

NATIONAL DEBATE PROPOSITION

Resolved: That labor organizations should be under the jurisdiction of anti-trust legislation.

NATIONAL DISCUSSION QUESTION

What procedures should the Federal Government follow to protect the civil rights of citizens?

Committee on Intercollegiate Discussion and Debate

36 John Carroll University Austin J. Freeley

* * * * *

Editor:

Yesterday's mail brought me the September issue of TODAY'S SPEECH. Both my wife and I have read the article, "The Preacher and His Vocal Equipment," which we have found most interesting. I personally wish that I could have read it forty years ago.

Robert L. Clark, Jr., S.T.D., D.D.
Boca Raton, Florida

Editor:

This is to thank you for your letter of September 15 and for the copy of the September issue of TODAY'S SPEECH. It was thoughtful of you to send me Dr. Crocker's article which I read with interest.

Looking forward to reading the second part of the article and with best wishes for your continued success, I am,

Embassy of the Philippines Carlos P. Romulo

* * * * *

Editor:

I have just enjoyed reading the article on Carlos P. Romulo [September, 1961]. Like Woodrow Wilson, Carlos was first a debate coach before he became a statesman.

In 1928 Bates College sent a debate team around the world. At the same time the University of the Philippines also sent a team on a similar trip. The two teams met in Lewiston, Maine. We had a debate on the subject of Independence for the Philippines. Needless to say, the visitors were most convincing and won almost every vote of the audience.

My chief memory of Romulo was his jumping up and clapping his hands when a request was given for those voting for the negative team (Bates) to rise; he was almost the only one who did. He was a diplomat that early.

Bates College

Brooks Quimby

* * * * *

Editor:

Mrs. Dorothy Carnegie would like to include, in her revision of Dale Carnegie's classic, *Public Speaking*, two short revisions from your publication [September, 1954].

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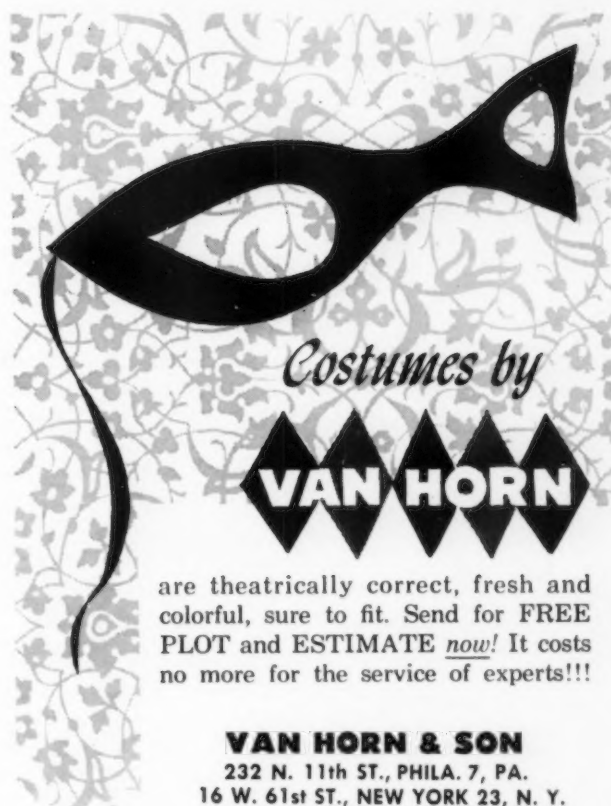
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*It is easier to be a lover than a husband, for the same
reason that it is more difficult to show a ready wit all
day long than to say a good thing occasionally.*

—BALZAC

*A speaker's few well-chosen words are liable to be
lost in the bulk of what he has to say.*

—FRANKLIN P. JONES



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